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The COMMUNIST

AUGUST

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THE CHANGE IN SPAIN

BY ROBERT MINOR

The Party and the People's Front — ALEX BITTELMAN

For a National Health Program — WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Problems of a Worker-Farmer Alliance — CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY

The Negro People in the People's Front — JAMES W. FORD

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The COMMUNIST

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Roosevelt Administration in Difficulties. Communist Party Warnings. Realization of People's Mandate Is Key Point. Reaction Exploits Roosevelt's Inconsistencies. Budget and Labor Crucial Issues. Giving Reaction a Finger Costs Administration an Arm. Listen to Voice of Masses. Communists Propose Program of Action. Fascist Vigilantism Raises Its Head. Who Is Backing It? Johnstown Vigilante Conference Challenges Government. Republican Reaction Approves. Governor Murphy Seeks an Easy Way. Disarm and Disband Vigilantes. People's Movement Against Vigilantism. Fresh Japanese Aggressions in China. Concessions to Fascists Bear Main Responsibility. Support Chinese People. Spain and China. Soviet Union's Peace Policies. Thomas Paine and the American Constitution. Eighteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party.

THE Roosevelt administration is in difficulties. The reactionary Democrats, spurred on and supported by the fascist-minded monopolies and by the Liberty League crowd, are evidently determined to destroy the Roosevelt administration. This was the charge made against Wheeler & Co. in the Senate, and it is true.

If our form of government were something like the English or French, the Congressional reactionary coalition of Right-wing Democrats and Republicans would no doubt seek to vote the Roosevelt government out of power. In lieu of this, the Liberty League boys are working to split up the Roosevelt majority in Congress and, by coalition with the Republicans, to create an anti-Roosevelt majority.

This is what one might call the minimum program of the reactionary Democrats. Their full program, which they can no longer disguise, is to destroy the Roosevelt leadership in the Democratic Party and to entrench within it the Liberty League crowd. It is the working out of the strategy of Al Smith.

In all this there is not much that is unexpected or surprising. The Communist Party had warned precisely against such a possibility prior to and especially following the elections of 1936. We said: reaction was administered a powerful blow in the elections, but it was not routed, let alone destroyed; that it would seek to nullify the people's mandate and to stage a comeback; and that it would try to do

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so largely through the reactionary forces in the Democratic Party itself.

That was to be expected. Therefore, the Communist Party proposed certain policies and measures to guard against these dangers, to make the efforts of the reactionaries as ineffective as possible. We brought these policies to the masses, to the working class and its allies. We said: organize your independent power, economically and politically, press with all your might for the realization of the people's mandate of 1936, collaborate for this purpose with all progressive forces in the country, supporting the Roosevelt administration in every one of its efforts against reaction and for progress.

The realization of the people's mandate in the elections was the key point in this proposition. And obviously so. By satisfying now and adequately the just demands of the people, as expressed in the mandate; by taking adequate care of the unemployed, meeting the immediate needs of the toiling farmers, revising the taxation structure to make the rich pay, protecting honestly and fully the legitimate demands and rights of labor to organization, strike and collective bargaining, protecting in deed the small business men against the depredations of the monopolies, paying serious attention to the needs of the Negro people and to the needs of America's youth and toiling women—by doing all these things the Roosevelt administration would have made it extremely difficult for reaction, inside and outside the Democratic Party, to make much headway in its efforts to stage a comeback.

What actually happened, however, was something else. The Roosevelt administration, true to its so-called middle course, began to flirt with the idea of temporizing with, conciliating and placating the reactionaries. The President apparently listened too much to those voices that were coming from his "friends" in Wall Street, *The New York Times,* for example, and to Bernard Baruch, and to the "liberal" *World-Telegram;* voices that counseled "moderation," "compromise" and "unity" in the Democratic Party. But the President did not listen enough to the voice of the people that elected him.

This only encouraged reaction. They thought, and some said so: the President seems to be wobbling; let's press harder and we will make him retreat; and when he begins to retreat, we will seek to rout and destroy him.

The President did not retreat, not from his middle course. But he was wobbling. We will show this on just two issues, issues that are decisive in the struggle between reaction and progress.

One is the budget and taxation. Reaction has made this one of its chief issues—against the people and against the Roosevelt administration. And naturally so. Social and progressive legislation, which the people's mandate calls for, costs money. If reaction could make sure that the budget would be balanced and taxation shifted to the poor, they would feel that the people's mandate was dumped. So they concentrated on that.

And what did Roosevelt do? Instead of flatly challenging the whole damnable business of budget "balancing" at the expense of the poor, by cutting relief and abandoning social legis-

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lation; instead of exposing this as a dagger into the heart of the people's mandate, instead of submitting to Congress at its opening a well-thought-out revision of the taxation structure on the principle of making the rich pay, instead of submitting a budget that provides adequate income for the realization of all social and progressive measures desired by the people; instead of that, the President submits a budget message which provides for nothing of the sort, a message that lays the basis for relief cutting and for the scuttling of the people's mandate as a whole.

What effect do you think this had in encouraging reaction to press forward and to begin to undermine the Roosevelt administration in Congress? A good deal of effect. And don't you think also that some of those affected by the relief cuts, the elements that are less politically mature, even became susceptible to the anti-Roosevelt demagogy of the reactionaries? And among these are farmers, unemployed workers, white-collar workers and professionals. Did Roosevelt ever stop to think of what was going on in the minds of the latest victims of the W. P.A. discharges? It is worthwhile looking into it, Mr. President, and paying more attention to the demands of the Workers Alliance in the matter of relief. It has a direct bearing upon your troubles in Congress today.

Some may say that the President is concerned today more with the state of mind of the middle classes than with the unemployed workers, and that this is good strategy. But is he concerned with the middle classes, *i.e.*, with their needs and demands? It does not seem so. The middle classes want less taxation; and as Roosevelt does not fight to shift taxation to the rich, reaction tries to win these classes for a policy of "balancing" the budget and against Roosevelt. Yes, it is a "good" strategy, but for the reactionaries.

The other issue is the one of labor's rights to organize, strike, picket, and to genuine collective bargaining. This too reaction has made one of its central issues against the people and against Roosevelt. And naturally so, again. Labor is the backbone of the people's upsurge against the economic royalists, the upsurge that carried Roosevelt to power. If the reactionaries can check labor's advance to organization, and this means today principally the C.I.O., the people's mandate will be scuttled, Roosevelt destroyed, and the basis laid for the Liberty League coming to power.

What did Roosevelt do on this crucial issue? He helped bring the Wagner law into existence. And that is important. We should be the last ones to underestimate its importance. But it has to be enforced, enforced by the federal government. The enforcement of the Wagner law is now the issue because there exists in the country a widespread conspiracy by the economic royalists to nullify the Wagner law. What has the President been doing to destroy this conspiracy, to enforce the Wagner law, and to protect the rights of the workers? Yes, *the lives of the workers*, against the Girdlers and their flunkeys?

Recall the auto strike in General Motors and in Chrysler. Why? Because in the President's failure during those strikes to come out in support of the legitimate demands of the workers; in

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the President's equivocal answer ("this is no time for statements") to John L. Lewis' proposal that Roosevelt do so, in this wobbling position of the President on one of the most crucial issues between reaction and progress *lies the germ* of the subsequent and present offensive of reaction in the steel strike, lies the germ of the present revolt of the reactionary Democrats against Roosevelt and his proposals for Supreme Court reform.

It was only a germ, and it could have been destroyed had the Roosevelt administration come to life in the beginning of the steel strike. But it did not, not on the side of the workers. Girdler staged the Chicago massacre, but not a word from Roosevelt. Girdler & Co. openly and brazenly defy the Wagner law and the government, and Roosevelt again says nothing. What conclusion do you think reaction drew from that? Only one possible conclusion: Go ahead; Roosevelt is wobbling and won't dare to interfere in a really effective way.

The rest followed almost inevitably. More terror and murder of steel workers, the Girdler "back-to-work" conspiracy, the rise of semi-fascist vigilantism, a nationwide hue and cry against the C.I.O. and against labor, for fascist legislation against the unions.

And side by side, a stiffening of the resistance in Congress to the Supreme Court reform by the reactionary Democrats, and more open attacks upon Roosevelt's leadership in the Democratic Party by its Right wing. See the infamous majority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

This was clearly a danger signal for the Roosevelt administration if anything is. Though delayed, this surely was the moment for action against the Girdlers, against their vigilante outfits and methods, and for a clear endorsement of the legitimate and just demands of the workers; for an *effective* enforcement of the Wagner law.

Instead, we had the "plague on both your houses" from Roosevelt; Secretary Perkins' apologetic statement on strikes; Governor Murphy's support for Michigan's Labor Relations Act which curtails the rights of the workers, his flirtations with the vigilante bands, his attacks upon "Communist cliques"; Governor Earle's call "to stamp out Communism"; and, for the first time, we believe, a speech by Senator Wagner coupling fascism with communism.

What conclusions could reaction draw from that? One need not guess; they speak about it frankly. The New York *Herald Tribune* says in effect: you have got the Roosevelt administration on the retreat; now is the time to rout and destroy it.

And that has its immediate repercussions on the struggle in Congress on the Supreme Court issue. Wheeler & Co. call for more open and determined war, seeing in the death of Senator Robinson a new opportunity. And in reply to the President's letter to Senator Barkley, even Roosevelt's "friends" from Wall Street have nothing better to say than: take up Roosevelt's challenge and fight his Supreme Court measure to the death:

The New York Times says:

> "The President has now chosen that the fight be carried to the bitter end. . . . His challenge should be accepted by the opponents of the bill."

And the "liberal" *World-Telegram*.

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the cradle of Hugh Johnson, hypocritically warns the President:

"You are risking too much, Mr. President, on the turn of one card, when the cards aren't running your way."

These are the "friends" that are smoothing the way for the Liberty League, whether they know it or not. (There is increasing evidence that Hugh Johnson at least knows what he is doing.) In the way they point lies disaster for the Roosevelt administration.

What is the truly progressive answer to the present situation? What is the effective way of beating back the resurgence of reaction and of pushing forward the progressive march of the American people?

Fight for the realization of the people's mandate in the 1936 elections. No concessions to reaction. Build and consolidate the independent economic and political power of labor; work for labor unity on the basis of the C.I.O. principles. Forge the alliance of the working class and the middle classes. Build the People's Front and move it towards a national Farmer-Labor Party. Encourage, strengthen and support the progressive forces in the Democratic Party. Support the Roosevelt administration in its progressive measures, at the present juncture especially the Supreme Court reform; help defeat the rebellion of the reactionary Democrats, pointing out always and combating the weakenings and non-progressive positions of the Roosevelt administration. Build the Communist Party into a mass party and extend the circulation of its *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. This is the way to meet the present situation, and Communists are called upon to display the utmost initiative for winning the labor movement and the people as a whole to the struggle for such policies.

In short: realize in life the program of action outlined in the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which appears elsewhere in this issue.*

* * *

VIGILANTISM is raising its ugly head. Its essentially fascist character stands out so clearly that it cannot be mistaken. Nor is it possible to mistake its parenthood—the open-shoppers, the fascist-minded monopolies, the Girdlers, Fords and Graces.

It has already been observed even by correspondents of bourgeois papers that the two main centers of vigilantism today are Michigan and Ohio (also Texas), the places where Ford, Girdler and Grace are especially operating to block the unionization of labor and to defeat the Wagner law. It has also been observed that this vigilante outfit is a sort of merger of Black Legion elements, the Ku Klux, German Nazi fascists, "native" fascist bands of all descriptions and other scum of the country.

This by itself would not be a very serious matter, if the government authorities would simply enforce the laws of the land. The ordinary police power of government would be sufficient to disband and disarm these fascist gangster groups *But the government authorities are not doing it.*

* See p. 749 of this issue.—*The Editors.*

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They are letting them grow. And herein lies danger.

Another source of danger, and one that cannot be met simply by police power, is the strategy of the fascist economic royalists to draw into the vigilante bands the middle classes and also certain groups of demoralized workers. We have in mind the fascist demagogy among the middle classes on the "menace" of a labor dictatorship coming from the C.I.O., and similar demagogy among the workers and middle classes under the hypocritical slogan of the "right to work."

A study of the activities of the Johnstown Citizens' Committee illustrates both of these dangers. It started as an outfit of steel company stooges to break the strike in the steel mills of Johnstown. "Back to Work" was its slogan, violence and terror were its method. If Johnstown had a progressive mayor, instead of a corrupt and criminal flunkey of Republic Steel (Daniel Shields), the police could have disbanded this outfit without any difficulty. But it had Shields as mayor, and the failure of the federal government to enforce the Wagner law. Result? By terror, economic pressure, intimidation and fascist demagogy exploiting the political weaknesses of the Roosevelt administration, by all these means the Johnstown Citizens' Committee undertook to corral support among groups of middle classes and also some workers. Remember: steel is the main source of livelihood in this, and many other communities. It broadened out its slogan to read: "The Right to Work." And it proceeded to branch out nationally, to unite with all other vigilante bands, and on a rather ambitious program. From breaking strikes, they are stretching out to breaking the American government.

Read the preamble to the declaration adopted at the national conference of so-called citizens' groups, held in Johnstown, on July 15, under the auspices of the Johnstown Committee. It says:

> "Occasions have arisen where we can no longer look to certain constituted authorities to protect human constitutional rights. . . . Therefore, as loyal Amercian citizens we feel it is our patriotic duty to perfect a nationwide organization whose function it shall be to restore and protect those constitutional rights that have been taken from American citizens by certain unworthy officials." (*The New York Times*, July 16.)

If this has any meaning, it is that this vigilante band sets itself up as another government, challenging directly the government of the United States. And we repeat: it would be laughable if not for the fact that it is allowed to go on, that it is permitted not only to make grandiloquent declarations (which *The New York Times* displays as a first rate political story) but to carry on with impunity, terror and murder, and that its fascist demagogy exploits real failures and weaknesses of the New Deal.

And who is behind it? Directly in Youngstown, it is Tom Girdler and Frank Purnell. And behind these? Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel and William C. Potter, board chairman of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, a Morgan bank.

And who is singled out for attack by these vigilantes? The C.I.O., John L. Lewis, the Roosevelt administration and the Communists. J. G. Lester,

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chairman of the Massillon "Citizens" Committee which just murdered several steel strikers, howls at the conference "Thank God for Tom Girdler" and moves:

"I think we ought to send him a telegram congratulating him for smoking out those Communists—John L. Lewis, Madame Perkins and President Roosevelt."

The strategy of the fascist-minded monopolies and economic royalists is written all over this vigilante conference. Make Roosevelt break with labor and destroy him. Make the C.I.O. break with the Lefts and Communists in its membership, and destroy the C.I.O. Turn Roosevelt's weaknesses and concessions to reaction against himself. Create a spirit of civil war in the country to frighten the middle classes and to terrorize the administration into retreat and rout.

But these reactionary maneuvers can be defeated even more thoroughly than in 1936. For this, reaction has to be fought by a real struggle *to realize the people's election mandate.* Reaction has to be fought by organized labor establishing correct and intimate relations of collaboration with the middle classes of town and country. Reaction and vigilantism have to be fought and defeated by outlawing and destroying at the outset these budding fascist formations and by indicting, prosecuting, and jailing the master minds—the Fords, Girdlers, Graces, Potters and those behind them.

To Governor Murphy, a special word is required. On a recent visit to New York, at a press conference, when asked about the vigilante bands in Michigan, the governor replied:

"Undoubtedly there is feeling for vigilantism in Michigan, as there is elsewhere in these days. But if any organized vigilante movement starts there, I will see that it is quickly brought under the control of constituted authority, where it belongs." (*New York Post,* July 1.)

Very cryptic and very equivocal. "If" such a movement starts? But all informed people know that it has started and is developing and that Ford is the chief backer of it. Secondly, he did not say he would disband and disarm these vigilante gangs, as he should have, but he would bring them "under the control of constituted authority." What does it mean? Incorporate them into the government? Make them "work" under the control of the mayors and of the governor?

The people must demand from the government the disarming and disbanding of the fascist vigilante bands and the criminal prosecution of their backers in high places. To give force to such demands, it is imperative that local anti-vigilante conferences be called in all communities, uniting all progressive forces of the people: labor, the farmers, the middle classes, Negroes, youth, women, all who wish to preserve and extend the democratic liberties of the people, and to stamp out the ugly head of vigilante fascism.

The C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. both are vitally interested in helping to promote and organize such a movement *for anti-vigilante local conferences.*

* * *

THE JAPANESE fascist-military clique, the ally of Hitler, which has been waging war on China since the seizure of Manchuria, is now pro-

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posing to detach North China as the next move in the fulfilment of its "continental policy." The methods of these aggressors run true to style: frame-up, provocation, military action and—annexation. This was how they got Manchuria in 1931. This is how they are moving now to annex North China.

The memorandum of the Chinese national government (July 16) on the Japanese provocation around Peiping on the night of July 7, addressed to the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty and to all signatories of the Kellogg Pact, exposes the frame-up of the Japanese militarists and their aggressive designs beyond any doubt. Hence, on this phase of the matter, there is not much to be said. The real question is: what is to be done about it?

Japan's militarists want "to localize the issue." On this the Chinese memorandum says correctly:

> "The issues thus raised are for that reason, above all others, always national and never local, and 'localization' is a subterfuge invariably attempted for baffling Chinese unity and confusing world opinion."

This is diplomatic language of course. This plain meaning of "localization" is that the Chinese national government shall abandon North China. It is inconceivable that with the rising militancy and unity of the Chinese people the Nanking government would find it possible to accede to such demands. The plain and outstanding fact is that a *new China* is coming into life. A united people willing and able to fight to the end for its national independence, for freedom, for democracy and peace—a China for which the Communist Party of China has been fighting for a great many years and which is now being realized.

While it is not quite possible to say at this moment exactly what the Nanking government will do, it is reasonably certain that the Chinese people will be satisfied with nothing less than maximum resistance to the breaking away of the northern provinces from China. The Chinese people are already demanding exactly that, and are consolidating their forces for the realization of a policy that will bring about the complete freeing of China from the Japanese invaders.

The question is: what are the interested capitalist powers going to do about it? Will they repeat the experience of Manchuria and accept the "localization" subterfuge of the Japanese militarists? Or will they call a halt to Japanese aggression? More specifically, will England, France and the United States do with China what they have been doing with Spain?

It is important to know that the present war moves of Japan against China are directly traceable to the cowardly and suicidal policy of concessions to the fascists practised by England, France and the United States. Let us recount a few highlights.

Japan seized Manchuria in violation of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. The bourgeois democracies remained quiescent. The responsibility was chiefly England's.

Hitler remilitarizes the Rhineland, breaks the Locarno Treaty, and again nothing happens. Once more England can claim the honor of achievement,

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but neither France nor America can escape responsibility.

Mussolini attacks and rapes Ethiopia. After much maneuvering and counter-maneuvering, the "great" bourgeois powers let Mussolini have his way, abandoning and betraying the Ethiopian people.

Hitler and Mussolini invade Spain. The bourgeois democracies answer, with "non-intervention" and "neutrality." This helps the fascists; so they go on and become more brazen. If Spain did not, and will not, turn out to be another Ethiopia or Manchuria, it is because the Spanish people have a People's Front which enables them to fight, and which will enable them to win. But this—*despite* the policies of England, France and the United States.

Japan and Hitler sign what is virtually a war pact—a pact that threatens not only China and the Soviet Union but also England and the United States and France. And what happens? Do the countries thus threatened come together and consolidate the forces of peace against those of war? No. This, you see, might make Hitler and Japan "angry." So nothing happens again.

The result? Sum it up for yourself. The Japanese fascist-military clique puts all these things together and decides: the road is clear, let's move on to further conquests. This is how the policies of non-intervention and neutrality are "promoting" peace and democracy.

More directly and immediately, the newest aggression of Japan in China is traceable to the very latest developments in the non-intervention farce in Spain. Seeing that England and France are again proposing to capitulate to Hitler and Mussolini (England's proposal to grant Franco the status of a belligerent), and that the United States intends to swim along with this new betrayal of Spanish democracy, Japan feels that the time is opportune for fresh adventures. Hence, the present developments in North China.

With this in view, think once more of the peace policies of the Soviet Union. Evaluate this policy in the light of these events, facilitated and helped along by the various schemes of non-intervention and neutrality. Take up especially the principle of the "indivisibility of peace," the organization of "collective security," non-aggression and "pacts of mutual assistance." Isn't it as clear as daylight that this is exactly what is needed? Isn't it equally clear that if these policies of the Soviet Union had been in effect the peace forces would be so strong and effective that the war forces of fascism could make no headway?

These events in the Far East are bringing the realization of the war danger closer to our shores. The masses of our people will begin to see that Mussolini's war on Ethiopia and the Hitler-Mussolini war on Spain are endangering the peace and democracy of the United States. They will begin to see that "peace is indivisible" and that only collective efforts can preserve this peace. The sham of "neutrality" is now being punctured in more than one place, especially in the light of the newest Japanese aggression in China.

Our "neutrality" laws, as is known, contain a so-called cash-and-carry pro-

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vision. How will this work out as between Japan and China? Reporting from Washington discussions between President Roosevelt and his advisers on the Far Eastern situation, *The New York Times* writes:

"As has long been foreseen elsewhere than by Congress, the cash-and-carry policy might in operation make the United States a virtual ally of Japan as against China because Japan, with her naval control of the Pacific, could obtain for cash what she needed in this country and China could not, lacking naval power. This would be in the face of the Nine-Power Treaty, which is designed to assure the territorial integrity of China."

This is perfectly true, and was easily foreseen when the neutrality laws were being framed. Can you imagine anything more ridiculous and farcical than a "neutrality" law which "in operation" would help the war-maker, the aggressor, the disturber of the peace and one that is pursuing policies hostile to your own country? That is, it would help the Japanese fascist-military clique and would hurt China, which means hurting the United States.

But this is exactly how the neutrality law worked out in the case of Spain. It helped Hitler, the ally of Japan, the enemy of our people and of our country. And it hurt Spain, the democracy of Spain, the friends of our people and country.

Clearly, the "neutrality" policy is in a crisis. The resolution of the June meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States takes note of this as follows:

"Despite the appearance of strength, the policy of neutrality is in a crisis. It is under heavy criticism, and already there is a growing recognition that it is unrealizable, that its attempted application makes for war rather than peace."*

*We need an alternative policy, a policy of peace. And this is the time to press for it.

The defense of the integrity of China, of its independence, peace and democracy, is a task which the people of this counrty cannot shirk without gravely endangering their own peace and democracy. The cause of China is our cause, no matter from what angle we view it. We must support the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors.

This was in essence the proposal submitted to Secretary Hull by four members of the House of Representatives, Congressmen O'Connell, Coffee, Hill and Bernard on July 13. In a letter to the Secretary of State, they wrote:

"The time has now come when our government must boldly insist that the treaties to which it is a partner must be honored."

There are two such treaties: the Nine-Power Treaty which guarantees the territorial integrity of China and the Kellogg Pact which outlaws war. Our demands upon the government must be: *Collaborate with all peace forces of the world, especially China and the Soviet Union, for the purpose of seeing to it that these treaties are honored and observed.*

Around this demand we must help to build up the widest possible movement of the American people, and to organize this movement into an effective force in support of China and in support of peace.

* See p. 735 of this issue.—*The Editors.*

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On the basis of this demand, we must unfold the widest agitation among the masses in favor of *a Pacific pact of non-aggression.* This is in line with the peace policies of the Soviet Union, one of the strongest powers in the Pacific. This has been recently proposed by Australia and supported by New Zealand at the British imperial conference in London. This is the most effective means of not only preaching but actually preserving peace in China, in the Pacific and in the world; and of preserving peace, democracy and the national unity and independence of China. This will curb the aggressor.

The situation calls for the organization of local conferences throughout the country in support of the Chinese people—a wide front of the American people against Japanese aggression in China. The Friends of the Chinese People in the United States have important tasks to fulfil in this connection.

Secretary Hull's statement on the Chinese situation (July 16) contains many good principles. For example:

"There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country."

We especially wish to stress the "obligations." And further:

"We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations."

Hitler, Mussolini and Japan—take note.

"We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. . . . We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law."

Fine principles. "Revitalize and strengthen international law"—From this follows implementing the Kellogg Pact and collaboration of all peace forces to make that pact a reality. Japanese aggression will not be stopped by mere pronouncement of good principles, although the pronouncement itself is of exceptionally great importance.

We need a people's movement to help give these principles force and effectiveness. This the Communists must help to create. At the same time, the Communist Party organizations must display great initiative in developing independent actions in support of China and against the Japanese aggressors. By demonstrations and similar actions, we must spread widely the slogans:

Down with Japanese aggression in China! Withdraw all Japanese armed forces from Chinese territory! Support the struggle of the Chinese people for national unity, independence, and democracy! For peace in the Pacific and in the world! For a Pacific pact of non-aggression! Curb the fascist aggressors everywhere! Drive Hitler and Mussolini out of Spain! Enforce the Kellogg Pact! Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

* * *

CALL upon Morgan and Mellon to explain their betrayal of the interests of this country by helping the Japanese militarists and fascists to arm themselves.

Eliot Janeway discloses in *The Nation* for July 10 that Mellon, Morgan, and Guggenheim are actively en-

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gaged in supplying iron, steel, copper and machinery to Japan. This may not be against the law: such are some of the laws. But it is against all the best interests of the American people.

Let these "great patriots," the leaders of the economic royalists, explain before a Congressional committee how well they are serving their country in rearming Japan. Let them explain, these "saviors" of democracy who are manipulating the fight against the reform of the Supreme Court, against labor and the C.I.O., against President Roosevelt, let them explain how they are helping to build up the Japanese fascist-military clique.

Let them show how well they "love" their country and people in whose name these pirates of high finance demand vigilante bands to crush strikes and to destroy the democracy of this country.

Mellon and Morgan—call them to account. And make it known in every American household that these economic royalists are helping Japan to make war on China and some day, if the peace forces don't unite, to make war upon the United States. America's youth and America's women will be very much interested in knowing that.

* * *

SEPTEMBER will bring to us two anniversaries: the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States and the eighteenth anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States. Seeing how we couple the two, the reactionary *Herald Tribune* and its friends may again become blue in the face; but that will disturb us little. If anything, that will show that we are right.

Should the spokesmen of the Girdlers and Graces again question our sincerity in celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution we shall tell them that the Constitution of the United States *belongs to the people*, not to their oppressors and murderers. It belongs to the workers, farmers, middle classes, who love their country and wish to make it a happier place to live in—and not to the Morgans and Mellons, who are betraying their country to the Japanese fascist-militarists.

And we, the Communists, are part of our people. Together with it, we shall celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. For this purpose, the Party set aside September 18 as *Thomas Paine day to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States.*

Of course, we also have some special tasks in connection with this celebration. But these are not hostile to the interests of the people as are the "special interests" of the Morgans and Mellons. On the contrary, our special tasks are:

1. To utilize this anniversary, which the nation will celebrate, in order to strengthen the movement for the reform of the Supreme Court. This will help the people to establish more firmly their ownership of the Constitution, to take it away from the usurpers—the corporation lawyers on the Supreme Court benches.

2. To strengthen the fight for democratic rights—for the Bill of Rights—and to build further the People's Front against fascism and war.

3. To show to the people that Com-

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munism is true twentieth century Americanism, to show this by the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and by its Stalinist Constitution, to recruit members into our Party and win readers for the *Daily Worker*.

The Party has to prepare for the fulfilment of these tasks.

Simultaneously we are preparing for the celebration of the eighteenth anniversary of our Party, which falls on September 1, and this is the date for the celebrations.

Here our task is to bring to life our Party's history: its origin, its struggles for the working class and for the people, its setbacks and achievements. We should make the membership of the Party, and the widest circles of our people, conscious of the fact that our Party stems from the first Marxian groups in this country, which played such an important role in the birth and organization of the American labor movement, that we stem from the groups of the First International of Marx and Engels, which inscribed a glorious page in the struggle against slavery and for democracy that was led by Abraham Lincoln.

We should make the people conscious of the fact that in our Party are embodied the best revolutionary and democratic traditions of the country, of the working class.

And as we come nearer to our own day, to the time when the Communist Party was formally organized, we find that the birth of our Party as an independent political organization was made possible by the infusion of Leninism into the experience of the progressive labor movement of America. These experiences plus Leninism gave us the basis for the Communist Party. The Communist International, and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard.

Through the eighteen years of its existence, our Party has passed through several periods, the same as the world in which we live and struggle. These periods have to be studied and lessons drawn for our work today. But through all these periods and changes, our Party has always been a loyal and devoted section of our class —the working class, its self-sacrificing advanced detachment in the struggle for a better life. Mistakes we have made; but we have never been ashamed to admit them and correct them openly, with the help of our class. That is why, in part, our Party was able to function as the advance guard, to fight most consistently for the task of the day and to point the road forward to the struggles of tomorrow. That is why so many of our slogans of agitation of yesterday have now become the slogans of action of great mass movements of the working class and its allies. That is how our Party has reached its present advanced position in the labor movement and in the developing People's Front.

This we should make the masses conscious of by spreading widely the writings of our leaders, Browder and Foster, where the history of our Party comes to life and helps build the future.

From such a study of our history, the masses will also learn how our

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struggle against Right opportunism (Lovestonism, which is becoming less and less distinguishable from Trotskyism) and against Trotskyism, now degenerated into fascist banditism, has helped us to become stronger, more able to resist bourgeois influences, more effective fighters as the vanguard of our class. And especially our Party membership will learn how persistence in deviations from Leninism, from the Bolshevik line of the Party, invariably leads to degeneration and to the camp of the enemy.

Let us prepare properly for the fulfilment of these tasks on the eighteenth anniversary of our Party. And let us make this an occasion for heightening the work of Party building: recruiting, *Daily Worker* circulation, improvement of all phases of our work, and deeper training in the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Let the eighteenth anniversary become a milestone in the realization of our great tasks as formulated in the decisions of the June meeting of the Central Committee. A. B.

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THE CHANGE IN SPAIN*

BY ROBERT MINOR

WE HAVE rejoiced over several great military victories of the Spanish people's army which have excited the surprise and admiration of the world.

The change in the government that occurred on the night of May 17 is an event of such importance as to compare with the biggest of these military victories in the results it will have on the outcome of the war.

The cabinet crisis precipitated in the first week of May by the Barcelona fascist-Trotskyist uprising had as its real issue the question of how to conduct and win the war. If that crisis had not been settled as it was settled, it would not now be possible to forecast that series of decisive military successes of the republican forces to which we look forward with such complete confidence. A glance backward at some events of the preceding months will confirm this.

During the early spring the more informed circles of republican Spain had become conscious of some profoundly disturbing facts. Despite military victories, brilliant in themselves and containing the guarantee of the ultimate outcome of the war, the course of the war as a whole was not yet one that led toward victory. The guarantee of victory, inherent in the spirit and revolutionary genius of the masses, had to find effectiveness through a transformation of the whole organization and method of war. The guarantee of victory was valid only because it was a guarantee of the capacity to change the method and organization of war, and not merely the capacity to die bravely.

On all sides was the evidence that Spain was not being organized for a military struggle that could hope for success, nor was the government even asserting its authority to do so. Not only was Spain not organized for war, but as yet a serious plan for such organization had not entered into the calculations of the government. Great factories, adapted to war production, were working according to the desires of private concerns, uncontrolled for war purposes. There was no semblance of organization of industry for war. It is one of the most astounding facts of history that for ten months the Spanish republican troops fought in a large-scale war without a unified military command and without a unified military discipline. Without a unified command there could be no strategy. There could not even be the moving

* Based upon a report made at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. held June 17-20, 1937.

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of any troops from one front to another unless by the clumsy process of one commander pleading with and borrowing from another commander extra units to fill out a weakened line.

There were no reserves and no effective use of the power of the state to create reserves. Literally throughout Spain there were several million young men of military age, hundreds of thousands of them eager on their own initiative to join the army, and being urged to do so by public appeals on all sides, who could not receive any instruction as soldiers because of an attitude in the positions of authority that ignored the supreme necessity to support an army with reserves. The anti-militarist tradition opposing compulsory army service, arising in the fight against the monarchy, seemed to persist in distorted form as against the revolutionary principle of universal compulsory military service against monarchist and fascist reaction. Mobilization was ordered, it is true, in October after the Cabinet headed by Largo Caballero and participated in by Communists, Socialists, and Anarchists, as well as Left Republicans, came into office. But it was ineffective because not applied. It was repeated in February, and the quota of the draft was more than filled; but this again came to little or nothing because there was no business-like measure taken to enlist and train the men, while literally hundreds of thousands who wanted to fight could not get instruction.

The coming to power of the government headed by Comrade Caballero in September, 1936, had been a tremendous step forward for Spain, bringing the great mass of the population, and especially the trade unions and peasant organizations, *more nearly* into position as the main base of the state power. But the democratization of the state was *still to be enhanced.* It had to be enhanced by the development of this state into an instrument to execute the will of the democratic mass. The Caballero cabinet came into office with authority unequalled in Spanish history. Never had Western Europe known a national government possessing more dependable and complete power than was enjoyed by the People's Front government of Spain as constituted in September. It was power and authority based in the people so profoundly as to create the illusion of an almost spontaneous application by the mass itself of the decrees of the state.

When the weasel-minded Franco issues communiques asserting that the republic is "unable to exercise authority," this idiocy is based upon the conception of power of the Bourbon monarchs of the past century, based upon naked force and the cultural debauchery of a clerical arm that is now dead. The authority of the People's Front government rises high above any ever known by Bourbon monarchs because it is based among the people, first of all, among the working class, the trade unions, which are the strongest economic organizations modern Spain has known; and so profound is this authority that even the Anarchist sections of workers are compelled to lay aside anti-state dogmas to participate in government along with Catholic

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peasants and Left Republicans as well as Communists and Socialists.

The authority reposed by the people in the Popular Front government was and is unprecedented in any state outside the Soviet Union. But there was a gap between the authority that the popular mass gave to the state and the authority that the state under the Caballero Cabinet actually asserted. The many spontaneous actions of the masses toward carrying through the measures adopted by the government were mistakenly taken as proof that it was not necessary to carry out these measures in the hard tangible forms of universal compulsory military service, unified command of the army, and the aggressive action of the state in taking over the organizing of the war industries, in short, organizing Spain for large-scale modern wars.

The Communist Party in the cabinet fought against this weakness. It raised the slogan, intended to complete the transition of the state into an effectual expression of the democratic will of the masses it represented: "All power to the government!" and this slogan was accepted by the masses and adopted by the People's Front, but did not find effect in the government.

Anyone who has been in civil war knows that in the first chaos of breakdown of an old authority, the awakened masses of conscious defenders of the popular cause are not the only armed bodies that come forward. There also appear these confused bands (some honest workers and peasant boys, some lumpen-proletarians and many declassed, nondescript elements) under the leadership of petty non-political adventurers. But whether these confused nondescript bands are dissolved and their healthy elements are absorbed into the army of the people, or whether they grow to huge proportions and become the *speculative material of reaction*—depends upon how resolute is the character of the new government in asserting its authority and creating the disciplined popular army.

The government failed to follow this resolute course under the premiership of Comrade Caballero. On the fascist side of the front, meantime, conscription was ruthlessly enforced on pain of death, and honest workers and peasants as well as the nondescript elements were swept into the slavery of Franco's army to fight against Spain.

The Communist Party raised the slogan of the creation of the "Regular Army of the People," and the slogan of the "Unified Command." But within the Cabinet was a stubborn opposition not only to the application of these measures, but even to the disarming of the lawless bands. (It must be remembered they always claimed to have "revolutionary" character.)

In order to operate, these lawless bands had to have arms and ammunition, and to have more and more arms as they grew in size. So they took up positions on the various main roads where arms and munitions were being transported in supply-trains escorted by small government forces, and confiscated whole trains of supplies, artillery, machine-guns, armored cars and even tanks that were en route for the front. On December 31, the one remaining main road from Valencia

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to Madrid that had not fallen into the hands of Franco was occupied by a band of 1,500 heavily-armed men claiming to be "Anarchists" who stopped all traffic, including military supply trains, to confiscate automobiles, arms and munitions.

All protests were met with the answer that these bands were safeguarding the integrity of the revolution. Safeguarding it from whom? Not from Franco, but from the People's Front government. "You may win the war and lose the revolution" became a stock phrase spread about by the Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries for this sort of activity.

The Communist Party has branded this "slogan" of cynicism as the yelping of the dogs of counter-revolution. It issues from the camp that has been exposed before the world as an agency of Franco. Franco, of course, wants to discourage the Spanish people from prosecuting the war against him; the Trotskyist allies of Franco come to his aid, typically, with phrases showing "concern" for revolution. The Communist Party answers: *To win the war is to win the revolution!* The revolution cannot be separated from victory in the war. Only by carrying on the war against the Spanish fascists and the German and Italian invaders can this social transformation be developed and pushed deeper. All attempts to weaken the people's war, all attempts to break up or disrupt the People's Front government, all attempts to monger phrases about "socialist revolution" in order to break the workers away from the People's Front, aid and abet fascism and are counter-revolutionary.

* * *

It was in this situation that the Communist Party raised the slogan of a "Regular Army of the People" and the slogan of "Unified Command." These slogans were so obviously the key to the situation that both soldiers and officers seized upon them and put them into effect locally so far as this was possible. Especially in Madrid, where the Communist Party has 60,000 members, this was done, within the limits of the metropolitan area. The slogans even swept through the whole of republican Spain, reaching the smallest villages, where peasants painted on the stone walls with red paint crude pictures of the hammer and sickle and the words *"Mando Unico"* and *"Ejercito Popular."*

* * *

Comrade Caballero was not only premier but also war minister. In time of war, not to have a separate war minister meant that there was no war ministry at all. Cabinet meetings were kept entirely in the dark as to everything pertaining to the war. But, of course, it was physically impossible for Comrade Caballero to run the war by himself. There grew up around him, taking advantage of his honest confidence, a group of voluntary military experts, at least one of whom was later found to have been in direct communication with General Franco's headquarters. The amazing fact was that often Franco's headquarters knew plans of the republican army that were

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entirely unknown to the Cabinet members.

Franco's long delay in the advance on Madrid, caused by his turning aside to take Toledo, gave several weeks of time in which to fortify Madrid. But when the fascists were already entering the suburbs of Madrid, there were still no fortifications and no plan for the defense of Madrid.

The empirical methods of the war ministry, that had no existence except in the vest pocket of the premier, caused official circles to go into illusions of easy victory every time a small success was won. But the most trivial setback caused a pessimistic attitude and a slowing up of preparations for the offensive period of war which had become imperative.

Meantime successes were being won nevertheless—tremendous successes through heroism of the most inspiring nature. Yes, there are always in the depths of a people revolutionary sources of strength that can never be dreamed of by mercenary military calculators! These successes, however, were not properly taken advantage of because of lack of plan and coordination. The combined military skill of the German and Italian general staffs in Spain was having effect. These general staffs were directly connected with many officers in the republican army, including the notorious General Asensio, who kept Franco's headquarters thoroughly informed of the inmost thoughts of the republican premier. Desperate efforts were made to bring about the removal of such questionable generals and officers; the Communist Party raised the slogan of the purification of the officer cadres, especially centering around General Asensio.

Then came the terrible shock of the fall of Malaga. Malaga was very powerfully fortified by nature itself by means of high mountains, and these were supplemented by batteries and trenches. Malaga was a city that could not be captured, according to any military reasoning, assuming that it were defended. But a staff of officers in the service of General Franco had worked its way into the Malaga military forces and the complete confidence of Comrade Caballero. It was known that an Italian army of 16,000 highly mechanized troops had been landed from Mussolini's transport ships, and were on the way to Malaga. Among the officers of the republican army there were some who deliberately maneuvered their own troops into a trap, withdrew them in a supposed "strategic retreat" from a position that would have been impregnable, causing them to fall back to a supposed second line of fortification that had never been built, and then deserted them to their ruin and death. An entire army corps was practically destroyed.

Although the fall of Malaga shook Spain to its very foundations, and banished many illusions, the opera-bouffe General, Cabrera, friend and protege of Comrade Caballero, dismissed the subject with the remark: "It's of no importance; it reduces our front." A wave of popular feeling swept over Spain and caused Comrade Caballero to promise an investigation of the betrayal of Malaga and the punishment of the guilty; but the months passed by and the same officers, insofar as they had not gone over to Franco's line,

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were left in command in the army.

The lively campaign, led chiefly by the Communists, for the purification of the officer corps, was met and countered by one of the most peculiar moves in all of the history of British imperialist Tory duplicity. Those who have no policy are subject to the pressure of anyone who has a policy. And the British Tories always have a policy. During the months of March and April, the British diplomatic service began to explain that England was really the friend of Spain but was worried only by the "growth of Bolshevism in the Spanish army." This fitted in with all of the weaknesses in Comrade Caballero's camp. The Communists were resolutely demanding a strong policy of organization for the war, which Comrade Caballero resented as a personal attack. A growing hatred of those who were trying to bring him to a resolute policy became useful material to the strategy of the British government, a British government that had been able to find a certain "democratic idealism" in the slogan "Soviets without Bolsheviks" in Kronstat in 1918.

A certain unreasoning suspiciousness directed against those who were pressing for a consistent policy in the formation of the regular people's army was aroused in Comrade Caballero, who began to insist that the appointment of all political commissars of the army was his personal prerogative; he withheld his agreement to the re-appointment of nearly every one of the political commissars whose work had molded the political character of the army. This became one of the most dangerous turning points. It must not be understood in a narrow sense. The Communists did not seek to monopolize the positions of political commissars in the army. On the contrary, the Communists worked to get all progressive elements to serve as political commissars, and went so far as to promote the appointment of many Socialists and Left Republicans, and even seventy Catholic priests were serving in the Basque country as political commissars—the only condition being their fidelity to the republic.

But now, under the situation created, the whole question of the political character of the army was transformed by a drive "against Bolshevism" in the army. This became a serious menace to the republican character of the army. From the very beginning the Communists had been the most active carriers of discipline and the most decisive creative force in the building of the military units. The Fifth Regiment, which at the beginning of the Civil War was picked by the Communist Party as the center of its concentration task in building a regular army, became so popular because of its model character that it had grown to 74,000 and constituted almost one-half of the entire republican army at the time when the government accepted the proposal of the Communist Party that this regiment be divided and distributed so as to become a steel framework to strengthen the entire army.

The seasoned leaders who were the firmest guarantee of the political character of the army were in danger of being scrapped by a "purification" directed against the Left. This happened at a time when the secretly fascist of-

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ficers who had betrayed Malaga still remained in high positions in the army.

* * *

Such situations are never overlooked by fascists.

Behind the republican lines, especially in Catalonia, there took place a converging of all of the rotten elements, thrown up by the ruined classes and strata of society.

1. Declassed adventurers, pushing themselves into leadership of confused groups that were left idle in the cities through the failure to mobilize for war.

2. The riffraff of sectarian groups, mostly of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and semi-intellectuals. We do not forget that two generations ago Marx and Engels pointed out clearly that at a time when the proletariat has reached a sufficient maturity to act as a class, all sects become essentially reactionary. In certain crucial situations they may even sink to the role of corrupt tools of the police. Among these degenerate sects in Catalonia was the sect of Andreas Nin and his two associates, Gorkin and Andrade. These were the original Trotskyite group in Catalonia. With Trotsky discredited and hated throughout Spain in proportion to the popular ardor for the People's Front and love of the Soviet Union, this group was forced to make a formal disavowal of the support of Trotsky, but nevertheless remains the Trotskyite group of Spain. It has sunk to such a level of degeneracy as to be the prostitute of the third group, which is:

3. The professional fascist agents of the German Gestapo and the Italian secret service sent into Spain on false passports by their respective general staffs.

Out of all this cesspool of corruption, the Trotskyites under the presumptuous name "Workers Party of Marxist Unity" (P.O.U.M.) stood out as the one group that could supply the necessary program for the blowing [illegible] of the republican cause behind the lines. The Trotskyist program was conditioned by the fact that Trotskyism in Spain, as elsewhere, has lost all mass basis, and in order to exist as a force is compelled to find its strength elsewhere than in the masses—in other sources sharing common desires. The common desires in this case are the following:

A. Opposition to the People's Front in Spain.

B. On an international scale, hatred of the Soviet Union and anti-French orientation, and opposition to the trend toward the formation of a democratic bloc against fascism.

C. Orientation toward cooperation with Hitler Germany.

Catalonia became the center of the operations of this alliance. The choice is not accidental, because Catalonia is the big industrial region of Spain and the logical center therefore of supplies for the republican army. The cooperation between these groups became a clearcut phenomenon.

At last the Trotskyites (whose whole "party" numbers only a few hundred) were able to have what they called "mass activity." Their newspaper called *La Batalla*, suddenly came into unlimited financial means which could

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not possibly have been supplied by the scant members of the organization. The Anarchist traditions of Catalonia became the point upon which the Trotskyites worked to obtain a mass support. I personally can remember the first days of Trotsky's open drive against the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R., and the fact that it was precisely among the Anarchist workers in the Latin countries that he tried by flattery and cajolery and concessions to their "anti-state" misconceptions to get a foothold for a struggle against the revolutionary labor movement.

Barcelona was the scene of an unprecedented phenomenon. An unknown number of fortified areas, houses, buildings and neighborhoods had come into existence, each under the domination of an armed band and each the scene of huge arsenals hidden away and guarded, including even tanks and artillery in private possession in the heart of the great city. The only possible way of clearing up this confusion would have been the confiscation of all military equipment for the use of the army. But Comrade Caballero and Galarzo, Minister of Interior, when appealed to, steadfastly refused, on "libertarian" grounds, even to establish the republic's own authority, or to aid in the establishment of the provincial Catalonian authority in Catalonia or to confiscate the arms of these private bands for the army.

Soon it became clear that the "political" activities of this Catalonian grouping of the rotten elements had obtained a sort of a rhythm. For instance, at the time of the Guadalajara victory of the republican forces, a sudden wave of activity of the Trotskyites in agitation to break the prestige of the republican government was noticeable. Then when the massacre of Guernica had the whole world standing aghast and had caused a distinct turn of public sentiment toward the republican cause, a sharp stimulation of the Trotskyite efforts to discredit the government began.

Even Hitler can use May Day, and so why cannot Trotsky? The May Day edition of *La Batalla* was used as a blast against the republican government, openly going so far as to advocate its overthrow on the ground of its being a capitalistic government. Before May Day, it is now known that Trotsky's son, Sedov, secretly visited Barcelona and had a conference with Nin and Gorkin.

On May 3 occurred the armed uprising led by adventurers egged on by the Trotsky organ, and participated in not only by declassed elements, but also by some misled workers. I am not going to tell the story of the uprising here. At least 800 people were killed. One of the best leaders of the workers, Antonio Sese, Secretary of the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers) of Catalonia, was murdered by a gun-shot fired from the premises of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor). Very quickly, however, the workers who had rushed to the barricades under the call of "Counter-revolution is on the march! Stand guard!" discovered that they had been deceived. Hundreds of workers remained on barricades with their weapons, but without firing, only waiting to learn the truth. The principal U.G.T. and C.N.T. and Anarchist leaders spoke

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over the radio along with Communists, Socialists and others, calling for a cessation of the struggle, the laying down of arms. But the Trotsky organization called frantically for those on the barricades to continue the fighting.

The bloody incident came to an end. But it is very necessary to observe exactly the attitude of the Trotskyites. *La Batalla* described the incident with the words: "Barricades of freedom sprang up in all parts of the town."

During the armed struggle in Barcelona, the loudspeakers of the fascist forces on the Aragon front conducted a propaganda which ran:

"Come over to us. But if you are not ready to come over to us, go back to Barcelona where your brothers are being murdered; go back and fight the government that is oppressing you."

What was the object of this uprising in which the only real background of power was supplied by the fascist troops on the front one hundred miles away and the fascist ships off the Barcelona coast, and in which the Trotskyites were the political spokesmen? There can be no doubt that both fascists and Trotskyites knew that there could be only two realistic objectives: (1) The breaking of republican lines on the Aragon front, and (2) the creating of a civil war situation in Barcelona, which inevitably would have resulted in the landing of German and Italian troops at Barcelona "to restore order"—a result which by the way has later been shown to be exactly within the line of the fascist conception of their "duties" in the non-intervention patrol.

It is reported from Communist sources that at a moment when the Trotskyites thought they were about to succeed in dominating the heart of the city, a prominent Trotskyite, closely associated with the editor of *La Batalla,* made the statement that the Spanish "capitalist government" was about to be overthrown in Catalonia and that the P.O.U.M. would become the governing party in a new "revolutionary state." There is no doubt that the Trotsky group would assert that such a "revolutionary state" would maintain the fight against the fascists.

But the realities would have been otherwise. Can anyone doubt that the German and Italian admirals would have had the upper hand in this combination? Let's recall the words of the confession of Karl Radek—that in such an action, planned in the U.S.S.R., it would not have been the Trotskyites but the fascist governments of Germany and Japan that would have ruled through a puppet state. But would the Trotskyites really have made an agreement through such a puppet state with Franco, Mussolini and Hitler? Do we not recall the further words of the miserable Radek, that the Trotskyites argued that Lenin signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk—so why shouldn't they sign away the birthright of the Russian masses to the fascist murderers as the price of overthrowing the "Stalinist dictatorship"?

We ought to reflect a moment on what such a Spanish "Manchukuo" arrangement would have meant, by which I mean the construction of Barcelona as a puppet state shutting off the last frontier between republican Spain and

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France, and creating the iron ring of complete encirclement by fascist forces on every mile of republican frontiers.

Comrades, the Spanish events of May give the picture of the first action of Trotskyism that has succeeded so far in reaching the streets with arms in hand.

* * *

The Barcelona counter-revolution was the final warning to Spain. Every serious person began to see that it was a case of getting rid of weak petty-bourgeois fantasies of government, or death to the republic.

Following these events we have an example of the magnificent way in which the Communist Party of Spain faced the national crises and was able to supply leadership to a nation.

Basic to the policy of the Communist Party was its unshakable faith in the reliable Socialist character of the mass of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party. Coolly, without being deceived by a thousand provocations by rotten elements, the Communist Party counted upon the proletarian character of the Socialist Party and persisted in the united front policy.

When the crisis came in the government those who were fighting the Communist proposal made it a personal issue centering around Largo Caballero who was both the leader of the Socialist Party and the secretary of the greatest trade union federation. When almost the entire trade union press (which is very poweful in Spain), representing both of the two labor federations, and one of the most powerful of the Socialist papers, the *Adalante,* fought furiously against what they called the Communists' attack against the person of the most popular figure in Spain, it took a lot of cool-headed confidence for the leadership of the Communist Party still to know that this correct policy *would win over the entire Socialist Party and both of the labor federations.*

The national executives of the trade union federations, elected long before the civil war period, one of them headed by Anarchists, the other by Largo Caballero, declared bluntly that labor would support no government not headed by Caballero, and the C.N.T. executive went so far as to specify that Caballero must also be war minister as well as premier.

In answer to all this, the Communist Party persisted in putting forward its proposal of eight demands, calling for democratic leadership, for the normal functioning of the supreme war council, for the immediate reorganization of the general staff and of the bureau of war commissars, the latter to have complete control of the appointment of political commissars of the army and their direction. It called for a separate war ministry. It called for the immediate dismissal of the minister of the interior responsible for the toleration of the armed bands of the rear, etc., etc.

Through the realization of the common ruin that faced Spain as the alternative the various political parties of the united front were drawn towards the support of the Communist Party's proposal, and Comrade Caballero was forced to resign. He brought in a proposal for a new cabinet, the composi-

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tion of which meant an even fiercer war against the correct policies proposed. The Anarchist press, and through the Anarchists also a large section of the trade union press, repeated even more forcefully that those masses they represented would support no government not headed by Largo Caballero.

But the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party refused to wreck the republic as an expression of loyalty to Comrade Caballero; it pointed out that he had not even consulted his own party in making the new proposals, and it joined with the Communist Party in denouncing the fatal course. The Left Republicans, the Basque Catholic Nationalists, the Catalonian republicans and the Left republicans of Spain gave almost unanimous support.

Then came the formation of the new government based upon and pledged to the organization of Spain for war. The Communist Party takes only the two places in the Cabinet that it originally had. Two Socialists, Juan Negrin and Indalecio Prieto, became the most prominent personalities in the government, as premier and as war commissar. The change is not simply in the personnel, but in the personnel as one which will carry through the program, which means at last the mobilization of all the resources of Spain to fight for its liberation.

There were two omissions among the forces in the People's Front government. The Anarchists, who at the outset of the People's Front government had modified their Anarchist principles insofar as those principles forbid them becoming members of a government, refused to participate, and at first the Executive Council of the U.G.T. also refused to participate. The two organizations of trade unions, both acting through executive committees elected some time ago, served notice that they would not support the government of the People's Front as newly constituted. A venomous agitation against it was carried on.

This need not be dismissed as unimportant; it is a deadly serious matter if the great organized bodies of workers declare a hostile attitude toward such a government. The Communist and Socialist Parties were faced with one of the most grave decisions imaginable. They had to look reality in the face and understand it. Despite the declarations of the official spokesmen of the two great federations, the Communist and Socialist Parties had to see the fact that these federations would support the government of the People's Front as soon as the sound class character of their memberships was brought into play.

Gradually it began to be seen that they were right. At first many people were frightened. Weak people began to waver. They said the trade unions would fight the government, and the government could not stand without their support. Then came the disillusion. From Madrid, from Barcelona, from the Basque country, from the Asturian miners came flooding in the protest of the rank and file against the position of the trade union executives. The Socialist Party comrades played a splendid part in this moment. There was formed a coordination committee between the Socialist Party Executive and the Communist Party Executive

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and, together, telegrams were sent to the Communist and Socialist units throughout the country, calling upon them to mobilize the workers in these federations to support the government. They responded. Cool-headed confidence in the masses was justified. The two great federations of labor support the People's Front government.

It is the government of victory.

The achievements and victories of the democratic forces of the People's Front, in spite of internal problems and under the incredible difficulties of fascist invasion, are an everlasting testimonial to the unbounded energies of the masses of the people liberated from the semi-feudal yoke. In the space of the year of conflict they have built an army of a half million trained men. This republican army is a new type of army. The arms are in the hands of the people fighting for their rights and liberties. Its commanders have risen out of the people. The army is an expression of the will of the people.

The foundation has now been laid for a powerful war industry controlled by the people's government. Governmental measures have deeply undermined and partially destroyed the material basis for fascism. In most cases the enterprises abandoned by the fascists and reactionaries are in the hands of the state and controlled by the workers.

A parliamentary democratic republic *of a new type* has now come into being. This government, working in a collective manner, is consolidating and unifying all of the people's forces—the workers, peasants, middle classes, republicans—against fascism, behind the Negrin government.

Simultaneously with the military work, important social and economic reforms have been carried out. The land of the big landowners and the big holdings of the church have been nationalized and given for permanent use to the toiling peasants and agricultural workers. All possible state help is given to collective farms and a reasonable price ensured for their products. The political as well as the economic power of the church has vanished.

The banks and the financial wealth of the country are controlled by the state and workers' organizations. At the same time, the property of the small and middle owners and business men has been respected in city and country.

Workers' institutes have been opened for hundreds of young workers and peasants to study science and technique. The laboratories of scientists have been protected, valuable libraries and art treasures have been saved from fascist destruction.

The growth and prestige of the Communist Party, which has won its place by its unbounded heroism and by the correctness of its proposals, proven in the fires of struggle, is an assurance that the people's revolution will proceed victoriously. It has grown from 35,000 in February, 1936, to more than 250,000. The Socialist and Communist Parties are coming closer to the time when a united party of the proletariat can be formed throughout Spain. The revolutionary powers of the people are leading toward victory.

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THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT*

BY ALEX BITTELMAN

COMRADES, the report of Comrade Browder and the resolution presented to this plenum have given our Party a powerful weapon for initiating the most important work before us today. That is the building of our Party as a more effective and leading force in the struggle for the united and People's Front. I am convinced that, as a result of this Central Committee meeting, if the Party takes hold of these documents, the report of Comrade Browder, the resolution, and the summary of the discussion which we are having here, and uses them to arouse the Party, to draw every member into the task of building the Party, it will really begin moving on the road toward making a mass party out of our organization.

SHIFTING POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

From this angle, I should like to discuss further some of the highlights of Comrade Browder's report, first of all, about the political situation. Comrade Browder said that the political condition of the country is in flux, that class relationships are changing, and that as a result, although not in the same tempo, changes are taking place in the parties which necessarily reflect the shifting of class forces. This is a fundamental point in understanding the present-day political conditions, as well as the perspectives.

It is a fact, as Comrade Browder explained, that the Republican Party of today is not the same party, not the same traditional Republican Party. Nor is the Democratic Party. It is a fact which no one will deny, a fact which we made known some time ago, before the last November elections—that the Republican Party has become the center of reaction and fascism, the main concentration ground of these forces, and that the Democratic Party under pressure from the independent struggles of the masses in the country, as well as the progressive elements within, is moving generally in a progressive direction. That is correct. From this, certain very important conclusions follow as to the immediate perspectives in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party, concerning our tactics and policies.

What is the perspective of the reactionary forces in this country so far as alignments are concerned? We don't have to guess about it. We know it. The reactionaries are doing their best today to undermine and break up the Democratic Party. It might be more correct to say that they are trying to undermine and break up the hold of

* Excerpts from the speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, June 17-20, 1937.

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President Roosevelt on the Democratic Party. It is not hard to understand why they are trying to do this.

First, from the point of view of immediate consideration. If the reactionaries can destroy Roosevelt's hold upon the Democratic Party and its machine, this will weaken the very modest program of the Democratic Party and therefore create for themselves a new basis for consolidation of the reactionary forces. That would immediately reflect itself on such questions as balancing the budget, taxation, relief, or anything that is vital to the interests of the masses, and which determines today class alliances and class struggle.

But aside from the immediate point of view, reactionaries view this condition from the angle of the longer perspective. There are going to be important municipal elections this year, and then a Congressional election in 1938, and then the next Presidential election. The reactionaries feel that if they can weaken the Democratic Party by undermining Roosevelt's standing in that party, they have created the possibility of preventing the progressive forces in the Democratic Party from playing an important role or a decisive role in the political life of the country.

It is not absolutely certain to anyone what will happen, but so far as reactionary plans are concerned, it is clearly visible what they are driving at. They cannot hope to bring the Republican Party to victory either in the next Congressional elections or in 1940, unless they destroy the New Deal in the Democratic Party, or the Democratic Party as such, as a major political party.

The wide masses of workers, especially those who are being drawn into the big mass movements—the C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League—while they might not always be conscious of the implication of events, today sense this situation. They feel that as things are now, and until the national Farmer-Labor Party emerges as a power, the only effective force that stands between them and a victory of reaction on a really large scale is Roosevelt's hold upon the Democratic Party.

From this, of course, all kinds of conclusions are being drawn, and many of them wrong conclusions. But the fact in itself nevertheless remains a fact, that at the present time, when there is no mass Farmer-Labor Party powerful enough to contest for power and win, the masses know that if this is not in existence there is something else in existence, the Democratic Party which, though it includes reactionaries, fascists and semi-fascists, is dominated nationally by middle-of-the-roaders like Roosevelt himself, supported by people to the Left, well to the Left, progressives, labor men, and potential adherents to the Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, and that due to certain developments in the country this has become a force that stands in the way today of a wider extension of reaction either on the economic or political field.

Comrade Browder has demonstrated this very concretely and constructively in his report. The conclusion is that we must take into account this attitude of the wide masses, and especially that of the C.I.O. and groups around it, and from this, *and on the basis of this,* proceed to push further the develop-

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ment toward the Farmer-Labor Party.

Does that mean that we accept all the illusions that some of the C.I.O. people may have about this situation? Of course not. And we must not be quiet about such illusions. Where we find illusions existing that stand in the way of promoting further the advancement of the progressive movement toward the Farmer-Labor Party, we must dissipate them by propaganda and agitation. This is how the vanguard can function at the present time.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

You see, there is no need to have any blueprint worked out for the vanguard, for all times and all countries. Marx didn't do it, Lenin didn't do it and Stalin didn't do it either. It depends upon the political maturity of the class forces and Party forces in a given situation, in which the proletarian revolution develops and the vanguard functions.

Now, to give you an example—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1917, was the vanguard of the Russian working class, and as the vanguard, it proceeded to organize the socialist revolution. The Communist Party of the United States, being a Communist Party, a Party of Lenin and Stalin, is the vanguard of the working class of America. But nobody will conclude that therefore we must decide to organize now the socialist revolution in the United States. This, of course, is extreme. It is made purposely, so as to show the historic approach to the question of what a vanguard like us can do *at various historical periods.* It always must be a vanguard, but in what sense? It must always fight shoulder to shoulder *in the front ranks of its class* for the interests of that class. That is true always, under all conditions.

Second, the Communist Party, while fighting for the daily needs of the masses as part of that class, must always by propaganda, by agitation, and by our independent actions, show the workers the deeper meaning of their struggles; show them the next step, and work with this aim—that the whole movement, not only we alone, become ripe for making these next steps.

A Communist Party whose struggle, whose class relations are more acute, whose political struggle is more mature, will play a more leading role than others, though all Parties are destined to play a leading role in the class struggle and in the people's movement generally. I say this in order to emphasize what has been explained by Comrades Foster and Browder and in the resolution. The point is to emphasize it so that it stands out very clearly. We cannot permit ourselves to work in mass organizations like any other member does. We must always work as Communists, which means something more.

And to further emphasize why we, as the vanguard, must always endeavor to bring the movement forward to its next step, let me discuss the idea of pushing forward the whole movement and not just ourselves. There was a time when our Party and the situation in the country were much less mature than today. We were a Party mainly of propaganda and agitation and leaders of minority movements. Very important ones. Movements which played a very great role in making possible

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the present-day upsurge, but, nevertheless, minority movements. Then, we could more easily afford to make a more rapid transition in the direction from a lower stage to higher stages. But today, when we have the C.I.O. and a new working class movement of the country marching in the direction of progress, it has become somewhat different. It becomes possible not only for ourselves and minority movements to become ready to make the next step, but by working properly, in a correct way, *to prepare the ground for the whole movement making that next step.* And I believe that by carrying forward these policies in the true spirit of *The Communist Manifesto,* our Party can really build itself as a mass party in this country.

THE NEED FOR BUILDING A MASS PARTY

Comrade Browder in his report said that the fact that our Party is not growing as it should grow, and that our *Daily Worker,* one of the best papers in this country and a Communist paper at that, is growing so slowly, is an intolerable situation. I should like every comrade to take back home exactly this fact—that it is an intolerable situation. It must be changed. We have to make our Party understand why it is intolerable. And why is it? Is it on some general abstract ground that it is intolerable? And are there some more immediate and more acute reasons why it is intolerable?

I want to communicate to you a certain opinion relating to this problem given to me by a sympathizer of our Party, a very intelligent person and very helpful to the Party in many ways and a friend in the best sense of the word. And he wanted to know why it is that the Communists are so anxious about getting more members in the Party. He said: "You have about 40,000 members, or thereabouts, conscious Communists, well-organized, well-disciplined. They are really leaders, not just rank and file. You have a press. You have a program and a political strategy which commands attention among the widest masses throughout the entire world, and you are making your general political influence very strongly felt in many places, thus enabling the movement to go in the correct direction."

"Is it true," he wanted to know, "that the general direction in which the C.I.O. is going is the direction in which you would like it to go?"

And I answered: "Yes."

"Then why," he asked, "are you so anxious about the slow growth of the Party? The social revolution is not yet around the corner. For the present, you can fulfil all your important tasks with the approximate number that you have.

"If you begin to grow, since, even from your own point of view, you will have to work with the progressive allies, will these allies not become fearful of a much larger Party? Would it not be better strategy to remain about your present size and still influence the movement sufficiently by your correct policies? Of course, you have got to recruit, but why be so impatient?"

I found the exposition of this point of view very important, from this angle —that it contains a certain plausibility, that truth and untruth are so well mixed here that I should not be surprised to find that this is not only the viewpoint of this sympathizer, but that

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there are perhaps many other sympathizers with the same point of view. Perhaps some within our own Party hold this view. There may be a feeling that: Well, of course we want to be a bigger Party; who doesn't want the Party to be a bigger Party? But why is it so essential that we now must go ahead and become bigger? Well, why is it necessary?

Let me go back to Engels for a minute and what he thought was the peculiar nature of the American labor movement. He said: One thing that distinguished the American labor movement from other countries, at that time, was that the American working class has been making numerous starts, beginnings, upsurges, of tremendous importance in scope, in militancy, and in revolutionary display of instinct, and suffered just as many set-backs. We know that to be a fact ourselves. That is true. And then Engels said: Why was it so? And he answered: Because these big mass movements of the American proletariat lacked the backbone of a revolutionary party, the vanguard. Engels said: Of course setbacks are inevitable, though we always fight against them, but when there is a revolutionary party within the working class, the setbacks will not occur so often. And when they do occur they will not be so disastrous, but when there is no revolutionary party within the working class, they will always be disastrous.

Today we are facing an upsurge of the working class, unseen and unheard of in the United States before, an upsurge which Comrade Dimitroff is able to characterize as the birth of the American working class as a class. The objective conditions today, if we see them nationally and internationally, and we cannot separate the two, are very favorable for the continued growth of this new working class into a position, both organizationally and politically, of continued power and strength.

Yet it is perfectly just to ask, are we guarding against setbacks? No, we are not. Things may take place which we cannot foresee. But we can see the strong reactionary power and strength in this country, there is plenty of reserve power, economic and political, for reaction to give us plenty of headaches and troubles in the coming months and years. We are not insured against setbacks, even for this tremendous change that is taking place in the country today. And if we will remember the history of the American labor movement and its lessons, then we will realize why it is important to have a bigger, a mass Communist Party to cement and push forward the present upsurge, for its success, and thus bring nearer the socialist revolution. It is, I believe, for this reason that Comrade Browder in his report, Comrade Foster in his speech, and the political resolution before us, say that the slow growth of the Party and the *Daily Worker* is intolerable, that we have to begin to build the Party and to make it a mass party.

Again, by way of emphasis, the Party will be built if every Party member takes part in the building of it. The Party will be built and the *Daily Worker* will be built if every Party member and every Party organization makes this one of their main tasks.

PARTY AND MASS MOVEMENT BUILT TOGETHER

Now in this connection I should like

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to say a few words. Is it correct to put up as one against another, as being in opposition, the building of the Party and the building of the mass movement? Can we say that when we build the trade unions, the People's Front, we build it for somebody else? And when we build the Party, we build for ourselves? I do not think so. I do not think that in this fashion we will really mobilize the Party to build the Party.

What is wrong with our organizational condition and methods today? It is precisely that we do not do these two things simultaneously, both things, *build the Party and build the mass movement as part of an all-inclusive great task of preparing the victory of the working class in this country.* It is only when we can make every Party member understand that if he is a good trade union organizer but does not utilize every action in his trade union work, in whatever form that conditions may dictate, to build the Party, recruit for the Party, raise the prestige of the Party's paper, *he is not doing a complete job, a Communist job.* In the same way, if he goes about recruiting Party members, building the Party press circulation, but is not doing it in a way to build the general movement, the People's Front, he is not doing a complete job, a Communist job. A Communist job, a complete job, is to strengthen the mass movement; and to strengthen the mass movement is to get better results for building the Communist Party. Only in this way can and will we build the Communist Party.

MARXIST PROPAGANDA AMONG THE MASSES

In conclusion, on one of the essential phases of building the Party. I mention only one phase, because many have been discussed already, and time does not permit to discuss all of them. The one phase I want to pick is the propaganda of Marxism among the masses, the propaganda among the masses of the special role of our Party, and of the special class tasks of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism. The *Daily Worker* has not been fulfilling this task as it should, and if the *Daily Worker* doesn't do it, the chances are that in the Party as a whole the job will not be done well. The prestige of the *Daily Worker* is growing, not only in the Party but outside also. It is therefore becoming an important, more potent and influential weapon in building the mass movement and building our Party. It is, therefore, necessary when we speak of improving our propaganda on a wide mass scale, the propaganda of Marxism, that we first of all turn our attention to the *Daily Worker,* the *Sunday Worker,* and how we can best organize the work through these mediums.

When we speak today of the propaganda of Marxism—the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on a mass scale—we are not indulging in the use of phrases but we are proposing to meet not only a need, but something possible and realizable. It wasn't always so. But today, listening to the reports of the comrades from the districts, what did they report? That the workers today are thinking politically, they have problems and want them solved. And if the workers have political problems and want them answered, this is our opportunity to bring to them Marxist answers to their questions. Therefore, instead of spreading Marxism on a small scale,

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we must become active on a large scale and meet the needs of the masses by the widest circulation of Marxist literature.

In this Marxist propaganda, I wish to emphasize two points. First, something which we seem to forget—the special role of our Party in the given historical conditions—not abstractly, but in the given historical conditions. I think it could not have been better put than by Comrade Dimitroff in his recent article,* when he said that in the present historical conditions the Communist Party fulfils the role of the vanguard by being a factor of unity in the ranks of the working class as well as in the ranks of the People's Front—a factor that promotes political enlightenment and understanding among the masses, pushes the movement forward, makes impossible the victory of fascism and thus creates the prerequisites for socialism.

* Georgi Dimitroff, "The Communists and the United Front," *The Communist*, June, 1937, p. 508.

Second, in connection with this, the role of the working class as a class and the struggle for socialism in the United States. When we speak of propaganda of socialism, we do not mean merely copying the traditions of the Social-Democratic abstract presentation of socialism. When we speak of propaganda of socialism today in the present historical period, what do we mean? We mean the following: Systematic exposure of capitalist exploitation and of the fact that fascism is a product of capitalism. It means, second, that we must always point out the leading role of the working class in the liberation of mankind from the horrors of capitalism. It means systematically popularizing the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union. If we do that, we will thereby create the possibility for a much wider conversion of the workers to the Communist Party and will also be building the independent power of the working class for influence and leadership in the struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

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THE PROBLEMS OF A WORKER-FARMER ALLIANCE *

BY CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY

THE incitement of farmers against striking chocolate workers at Hershey, Pa., a few weeks ago, should be viewed as a danger signal by militant labor and progressive farmers alike.

True, the Hershey Company and the bourgeois press greatly exaggerated the number of farmers participating. Moreover they made it appear that the farmers' attack on the strikers was entirely spontaneous, and that it was an attack made by farmers acting alone. The facts are, as established by our own Pennsylvania farm comrades, members of the Farmers' Union, after conversations with both the farmers and trade unionists, that the attack was incited deliberately by company stooges going from farm to farm, that the farmers were threatened with loss of market for their milk through the use of milk substitutes, and that these same company hirelings actually led the attack on the trade unionists and gave it its gangster character.

Let that stand. But, after the blame is fixed on the company—where it properly belongs—our comrades learned: (1) that farmers had participated in the attack on the chocolate strikers, and in considerable numbers; (2) that they were prejudiced against the C.I.O. in general, and its chocolate workers' union in particular, believing that many of their own troubles were due to the gains being won by the organized labor movement, and in the first place by the C.I.O.

Clearly, from the evidence which our own comrades gathered, a considerable group of farmers around Hershey aided the company in breaking the picket lines and in defeating the chocolate workers' strike.

That the farmers themselves lose by thus joining hands with the company against the workers is shown by what followed. After the strike was defeated with the farmers' help, the company turned on the farmers. It reduced the price it had been paying them for milk by 57 cents a hundredweight. So out of it all the workers lost their fight for union recognition and higher living standards, and the farmers lost 57 cents a hundredweight for their milk. Not bad business for the Hershey Company! But rather bad for workers and farmers!

* Based on speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., June 17-20, 1937.

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In that single experience there is living proof of the need for an alliance of workers and farmers; there is proof that without such an alliance both workers and farmers suffer; there is proof that it is the big corporations which stir up antagonisms between the two and benefit from them. That is why I stated at the outset that the unfortunate struggle at Hershey must be looked upon as a danger signal by militant labor and progressive farmers alike. For a danger signal it was, carrying with it gravest warnings for the future—unless the causes behind the Hershey conflict are understood and overcome.

Some comrades may think that I attach too much significance to this single local incident. They may cite the somewhat better relations between farmers and workers in other areas, possibly in Minnesota, Wisconsin or Washington, to show that things are not so bad. But the reports from our own comrades at the agrarian conference held during the June plenum of the Central Committee show that the relations of farmers and workers are not so good, or at least not satisfactory, even in these better spots. In fact, our comrades from the rural districts of the East, South, Middle-West, and West all reported a lag in the progressive movement among the farmers, and even that certain gains by the reactionary forces were to be noted in these areas.*

They stated that reactionaries were striving for a repetition of the Hershey incident in hundreds of places across the country.

In fact, the reports of a dozen comrades indicate that the chief *new* development in the rural areas is the extensive and intensive drive of the reactionaries to win the support of the farmers. The tories of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, backed by the pro-fascist Liberty League-Hearst crowd, are working tirelessly to line up the rural population against Roosevelt, against the C.I.O., against Communism.

Almost all of the outstanding farm leaders and farm newspapers are actively on the side of the reactionaries in their effort to defeat Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposals. Most of them are accusing the administration of having a pro-labor policy which it carries out at the expense of the farmers. In short, the general attack of the big business reactionaries against progressives and progressive social legislation is finding its way into the country-side in a form adapted to the widespread discontent prevalent among the mass of the farmers. It cannot be denied that it was the indifference of the reactionaries to the needs of the

* The significance of the facts which I have pointed out above have been further confirmed by the recent Citizen's Committee conference at Johnstown, Pa. Don Kirkley, editor of the *National Farm News*, attended the Johnstown Citizen's Committee conference and was elected to the committee of five to head it nationally. This paper was bought by Pew of the Sun Oil Company, a member and leader of the Pennsylvania Republican Committee, before the last presidential election to fight Roosevelt. The chairman of the Pennsylvania State Grange was a delegate to the conference and endorsed it. Francis Martin, Chairman of the Citizen's Committee, said he had 1,000 farmers ready to march to Johnstown and break the strike. This did not seem such a big exaggeration in view of the fact that Grange locals passed resolution against the martial law in Johnstown that aided the strikers.

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farmers, expressed throughout the whole post-war period by the administrations of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, that contributed so largely to the present deplorable state of the poor and middle farmers. Yet these same reactionary forces now play on the discontent which they helped to create in an effort to line up the farmers on the reactionary side.

HOW THE FASCISTS OPERATE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

How can they play that game with any hope of success? Or, more to the point, how is it that already they are gaining certain support from a section of the rural population? There are a number of factors; I shall deal with the chief ones among them:

The reactionaries do not appear before the farmers in person in the garb of Wall Street bankers or corporation heads, nor as defenders of the agrarian policies of Harding, Coolidge or Hoover; they appear as "farm leaders," as "farm editors," as Representatives and Senators, all posing as spokesmen for the rural areas and rural interests; they skilfully utilize the antagonism between town and country in all its aspects, picturing the trade unionists and progressives of the city to the farmers as the embodiment of those things they fear most. They pose the question before the farmers: What is Roosevelt doing for you farmers—to increase farm prices, to stabilize them in relation to industrial prices, to refinance farm mortgages to grant needed loans to farmers at low interest rates, to meet your demands for crop insurance, to solve the tenancy problem, etc., etc.? In typical Father Coughlin manner they are utilizing those things which they know the farmers want most in order to line them up with those forces which would most surely see to it that they never got them.

Combined with such demagogy, and with equal skill they direct their fire against Roosevelt and the C.I.O. They picture Roosevelt as John L. Lewis' "man Friday," as one who kotows to labor while ignoring the needs of the farmers; they attack the administration's earlier farm legislation (A.A.A., Bankhead law, etc.), and exploit the failure of the present Congress to bring forward adequate substitute measures; they point to rising industrial prices (behind which agricultural prices lag) as due to the wage increases won by the C.I.O. in the basic industries; the C.I.O. is painted as Communist, and Roosevelt is pictured as the C.I.O.'s protector. To cap it all off, Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposals are designed, they claim, to set him up as "dictator," with unlimited power to go still further on that road which they chart as contrary to the farmers' interests.

The drive of the reactionaries along such lines is not without its effect, and chiefly because of weaknesses within the ranks of those opposing the reactionaries.

To begin with, the mass of the farmers have real and justifiable grievances. Their problems as farmers were not solved by the A.A.A. or by the other measures for the relief of agriculture introduced during the early days of the New Deal. The A.A.A. benefited the largest and wealthiest farmers and to

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a lesser degree the middle farmers, but the poorer farmers continued to be squeezed out. In fact, the middle farmer benefited from a sort of unavoidable seepage that dripped down from above, from a measure that in its whole approach to the problem was designed to further the interests of the big capitalist farmer. This same A.A.A., in fact, accelerated the squeezing out of the poorest farmer, either pushing him off the land entirely, or transforming him into a subsistence farmer producing only enough for his own family needs.

What was true of the Triple-A was equally true of the Bankhead law in the cotton belt; there many thousands of sharecroppers were forced off the land. The inadequate handling of drought relief, the failure to supply feed and seed loans on terms the farmers, particularly the poor farmers, could meet, and the failure of Congress to adopt far-reaching legislation that would protect the farmer in the ownership of his land (mortgage moratorium, adequate refinancing of mortgages, tenancy legislation, etc.), were further factors causing continued dissatisfaction among the poor and middle farmers. In short, all of the measures of the administration were the half-way measures so characteristic of the Roosevelt regime. At their best they did not satisfy either the smaller farmer or the tenant.

After the Supreme Court, yielding to the dictates of the Liberty League crowd, threw out these measures as "unconstitutional," the substitute measures adopted or proposed by the administration have been even more inadequate, with even less concern for the rural poor, weakening still further its influence in the rural districts. The new legislation brought forward by the Roosevelt forces is weak and meaningless even when compared with the picture of the poor farmers' needs as presented by Roosevelt himself, by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, or by special commissions which investigated conditions. Examine, for example, the report and recommendations of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and compare it with the bill introduced in Congress by administration spokesmen. Roosevelt's action just a few days ago in vetoing the Farm Loan Bill in the name of "economy" further plays into the hands of his reactionary enemies. In short, the record of the present 75th Congress, now about to adjourn, is so far wholly negative on the vital needs and demands of the farm masses. This, more than anything else, has aided the pro-fascist forces in their new drive for farmers' support. To defeat the reactionary forces this situation must be changed; the farmers' demands must be met.

LABOR AND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES MUST ACT

Here the labor and progressive forces must play a decisive role, if the farmers are to be won as their allies in their struggle against the gathering forces of fascism. This means the Farmer-Labor and progressive bloc in

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Congress, the C.I.O.,* the A. F. of L., Labor's Non-Partisan League, the progressives within the farm organizations, the Socialists and the Communists. They must strive, with energy and determination, to expose and defeat the reactionaries now hard at work in the rural areas.

It is clear that these dark enemies of progress will never be checked through the middle-of-the-road measures of Roosevelt. That can only be accomplished when labor and progressive forces make the problems of the poor and middle farmers their own, when they boldly and militantly take up the fight for farm legislation with the same zeal that they now show in the fight for labor or other social legislation. The mass of the farmers will only become sympathetic to labor's cause and join hands with the broad progressive movement when they are convinced that it is through these forces that they can protect their interests as farmers. As long as they can be made to believe that gains made by labor in the form of improved conditions or social legislation are made at their expense—as the reactionaries try to make them believe—there is always the danger that the farmers will be won as allies of fascism. There is the danger of a repetition of the Hershey incident in hundreds of localities and in ever sharper form.

The immediate responsibility falls on the progressives in Congress. They, together with the more trustworthy and socially advanced leaders of the Farm Holiday and the Farmers' Union, those who really feel and see the needs of the tenant, the poor and the middle farmer, should draft a rounded out program of farm legislation around which all labor and progressive forces can unite. It should be in its entirety the farm platform of the gathering People's Front forces; it should include well-considered and far-reaching measures which really strike at the root of the problems confronting the *poor* and *middle* farmers.

Such measures should:

1. Insure individual ownership of farms and farm homes by preventing foreclosures and by government refinancing of farm mortgages at low interest rates and under such terms as will enable the poorest farmers to benefit by the law;

2. Extend government credit to the poorest farmers for seed, feed, machinery, etc., likewise at low interest rates;

3. Provide a thorough-going system of crop insurance which will fully protect farmers from drought or other natural causes;

4. Enable the tenant farmers to secure their own farms through funds made available by the government, including funds for machinery, seed, and other supplies;

5. Maintain the level of farm prices on a cost of production basis, combined with the efficient measures to curb the monopoly prices of industry.

* A very significant step has just been taken by the formation at the Denver convention, which began July 8, of an international union of United Canning, Agriculture, Packing and Allied Workers of America. This international has voted to affiliate with the C.I.O. and will be chartered by them. Don Henderson, president of the international, and the C.I.O. representative at the convention expressed their friendly attitude toward the farmers. Henderson emphasized the importance of the support of the demands and organizations of the laboring farmers by the union and the need for working out plans for mutual cooperation.

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Such a program, with possibly a number of other points, could rally all the progressive forces in the country. Certainly it would gain the support of the farmers. And if labor joined hands with the farmers in a fight for such a program, it is a certainty that the farmers would reciprocate by joining in the fight for labor's demands. It would mark the beginning on a national scale of a solid farmer-labor bloc against the Liberty Leaguers.

This brings us to the attitude of the trade unions toward farm legislation—a question that is vital if the farmers are to be won as our class allies. In the past the labor unions have been indifferent to the farmers' problems and demands; in some cases they have even appeared as a hostile force (for example, Bill Green's contribution to the defeat of the Frazier-Lemke Bill). Even now with the development of a more militant and more far-sighted trade union movement, the C.I.O., there has been no change as yet toward the farmers. Labor's Non-Partisan League, at its last convention, spoke of drawing in the farmers, but as yet nothing tangible has been done to accomplish that declared objective.

In fact, the old hostility toward the farmers, the tendency to look upon every little farmer as a capitalist—a tendency expressed in the past most clearly by the I.W.W.—still permeates the labor movement. Only recently one of the C.I.O. leaders reflected these sentiments strongly when in private conversation he expressed the view that "nothing could be done with the farmers," "they're a pretty reactionary bunch," "they cannot be influenced by 1938, and there's little likelihood that they will be convinced by 1940."

This narrow syndicalist attitude has to be changed throughout the whole labor movement, from the bottom to the top. The farmers in the United States are too numerous to ignore. Moreover, they have a militant tradition which proves their readiness, if properly approached, to join hands with militant labor in its fight against the big monopoly capitalists. Labor here must of necessity make an alliance with the farmers or else be prepared to see the farmers join hands with its enemies, and then to suffer a defeat at the hands of big business backed up by the millions from the countryside and rural communities.

These millions will become the storm troopers for fascism, the vigilantes and the strikebreakers unless the labor movement comes to understand their problems and joins hands in their fight. It is a broad People's Front approach that will win for labor, for the C.I.O.—an approach that enables the C.I.O. to unite the ranks of labor and contributes toward the rallying of the farming masses, the small business people and the middle class around and under the leadership of the militant working class movement. There will be no further Hershey incidents if the C.I.O. adopts that line.

THE TASK DEVOLVING ON OUR PARTY

I now come to our own tasks and responsibilities as Communists—and I emphasize at the outset that the main responsibility in making this line, indicated above, the line of the whole labor and progressive movement, is

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ours; it is our job to win the whole labor and progressive movement for the policy of the People's Front, which includes the achieving of unity between workers, farmers, and all supporters of democracy.

Ours must be an all-sided fight. Our comrades must work systematically *among the farmers,* overcoming their prejudices toward the C.I.O. and progressive unionism, showing that higher living standards for the workers means better prices and better conditions for the farmers, proving to them that their difficulties arise, not from gains made by labor, but from the high prices and high profits forced upward by a monopoly-dominated industry, proving by concrete facts drawn from home and abroad that these same monopoly capitalists, the big Wall Street financiers, are driving toward fascism at home and war abroad in order to pile up still greater profits at the expense of workers and farmers, and finally how through unity of workers and farmers both can realize higher living standards and security, and defeat the pro-fascists and warmongers. In such a persistent manner, and in connection with energetic support for an agrarian program such as outlined above, our comrades must *fight* for unity of the farmers with the workers. Every step taken by the workers in support of the farmers' demands, as well as the general fight of the workers and progressives for civil rights, against vigilantism, etc., should be widely popularized among the farmers and in the farm organizations.

Here it is necessary to speak sharply to some of our districts. It is not to say something new, but to say it so clearly and so directly that there can no longer be an evasion of the issue. The point is this: work among the farmers is not merely or even primarily the responsibility of so-called agrarian districts—Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin, Iowa, etc. Henceforth *all* Party districts, and in the first place Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania (both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh), Ohio, Michigan and Illinois, must make this a regular, continuous and seriously-considered phase of its mass work. And the work of these districts must include both the building of the Party in the rural districts—in the county seats to begin with—and the popularization of the farmers' needs and demands in the trade unions and among the city toilers generally in order to make the workers conscious of the necessity of a worker-farmer alliance. Meetings should be arranged in the cities with farmers as speakers along with our speakers; leading trade unionists should be brought into rural districts to explain the aims of labor and to solidarize themselves with the farmers.

The farmers should be convinced that we mean what we say in the same way that in the past we convinced the Negro people that we meant what we said by taking up, fearlessly and boldly, the fight for Negro rights. We have contributed most toward making the whole labor movement conscious of that issue; within a very short time we can make the workers conscious of the farm problems and of the necessity for a worker-farmer alliance, with both groups fighting together jointly for their mutual aims. We can influence the unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

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and the progressive political movement as well.

In fact, to carry through the struggle for the People's Front in the broad sense, as outlined by Comrade Browder at the Central Committee Plenum—fixing our relationship with progressive forces in the Democratic Party and in some cases in the Republican Party, as well as with the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Labor's Non-Partisan League—requires serious attention to work in the rural districts—*and now!* In every state, including the principal industrial states, there are progressive groups representing rural areas in the legislature or farm organizations which exercise considerable influence in the politics of the state, groups that will play an important part in the political realignments now taking place. A failure to contact these people or a failure to build our Party in the rural areas can be the cause of most serious obstacles and setbacks in our efforts to further the People's Front movement.

In short, comrades, a point has been reached when we can no longer afford to ignore the agrarian problem as one facing the *entire* Party and *every* district. And our approach must be a Leninist approach—that of making the Communist Party, the working class vanguard, that force which knits together the struggle of workers and farmers, which shows them their common interests, which draws them together in the course of a common struggle against fascism.

I will conclude by touching on only two points. First, the drawing of the farmers into the struggle against war and fascism. Here every district should make every effort to encourage the sending of large delegations of farmers to the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism which will be held this coming November. The farmers are opposed to war. Many farm conventions in the Middle West have already endorsed the League. With good work in preparation for the League convention among the farmers substantial delegations can be secured and progress can be made in vaccinating the rural districts against the pro-fascist propaganda.

Finally, there is the old question of where to concentrate our efforts in our work among the farmers. At the December Plenum we answered this question by urging our farm comrades everywhere to enter the Farmers' Union (in a few places the Grange), and the cooperatives to aid in building the Farmers' Union and the cooperatives, to work with the progressive forces there to isolate and defeat the Coughlin-Kennedy crowd; to strive to transform the Farmers' Union into a broad, nationwide, progressive organization of poor and middle farmers in the shortest possible time. In a number of places that line was carried out (Pennsylvania, Alabama, Louisiana, etc.), and where it was carried out there are definite gains to be noted both for the Farmers' Union and for our Party. In a number of places our comrades have already been chosen for leading positions in the union.

In the Middle West the line was not carried out, and there we have not increased our influence, nor has there been a strengthening of the union or of the fight of the progressives against the Kennedy crowd. Our comrades

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have concentrated their efforts in the Farm Holiday with some two or three thousand members nationally, instead of working to bring these progressive Holiday forces into the Farmers' Union where they could influence an organization with a dues-paying membership of 103,000 and with a still greater following.

The June Plenum has now decided that without further delay, our comrades everywhere, including those in the main industrial districts which until now have neglected this work entirely, are to give attention to the Farmers' Union, aiding in building it, aiding in transforming it into a progressive farm body cooperating closely with labor and the progressive political movement. This work also should be gotten under way at once since in November of this year the convention of the Farmers' Union will be held. At this gathering the sharpest fight will mature between pro-fascist and progressive forces. Our help now can throw the weight to the progressive side of the scales.

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UNITING THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT*

BY JAMES W. FORD

THERE has been an upward trend toward recovery in the economic life of the United States. But elements of a new crisis which are already evident and the blows of the terrific economic situation and of reaction and repression are driving the Negro people toward united struggle. The economic situation was never bright for the Negro people; the crisis has not lifted for them. Let us give our attention to some of the more immediate problems retarding the economic and social life of the Negro people:

1. Inadequate housing and high rents under Jim-Crow conditions.

2. The rise in the cost of living, higher prices for inferior food and other commodities, particularly in the "ghettos."

3. Inequality and the denial of civil rights. Lynching.

4. The lack of security: relief appropriation is being drastically cut, lay-offs are growing larger every day, especially hitting the colored population; special provisions deny relief to agricultural workers (Negroes) who refuse to accept low wages in private employment, on farms and plantations, and as personal servants.

5. The exclusion from social security legislation of domestic and farm labor, as well as laundry, restaurant and hotel workers, categories which include large numbers of Negroes.

6. Labor differential: wage-and-hour legislation as at present formulated permits the same type of labor differential for Negroes as was the case under the old N.R.A.

7. Insufficient or utter absence of farm tenancy legislation for Southern farm labor.

8. Retardation of the proper development of the cultural life of the Negro people by reactionary policies and the inferiority doctrines of the reactionaries.

The United States is a modern democratic state. However, insofar as concerns the Negro people, who have certain democratic guarantees in the Constitution, their chance to exercise the rights of free citizens is limited, where not completely denied.

Moreover, the backwardness of political democratic expression of all the people can be seen in an electoral system where each town, city or state may have independent methods of election absolutely foreign to one another and often preventing unified national action. So far as Negroes are concerned, their limitations are still greater. In Northern states Negroes may vote, but in nearly every Southern state this

* Based on a speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.

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right is denied or abrogated by various methods. Nevertheless, white representatives are sent to Congress on the basis of the proportion of Negroes in the various states.

Even in communities in the North, where Negroes can vote, often the whims of a political machine, or the method of regulating a political boundary are so arbitrary and complicated that one may never see a Negro elected to a high office. Take, for example, the 21st Congressional District (Harlem) in New York. There are people even in the North who think that Negroes should be represented, if at all, by whites.

Another repressive agency against the Negroes is the Supreme Court. There is no section of the ruling class set-up in the United States that is so autocratic, so dictatorial, so anti-Negro, and which holds so much power over the whole people as the Supreme Court of the United States. The Negro people are very much concerned with democratic forms in the United States, the exercise of their democratic rights and the fullest extension of democratic methods in government and judiciary.

Comrade Browder, in his excellent report, has already indicated the forces developing in this country which are leading toward the unification of legislation on a more democratic basis. The working class, which is gathering its forces through the tremendous organization now being carried on by the C.I.O., is bringing together the forces that will extend and guarantee democracy in this country. It is bringing around it all those forces and allies necessary to build a People's Front that will make the United States a stronghold against reaction and war.

In the conditions of the United States today we aim to help continue the great renaissance in the life of the Negro people which our Party in the past has played no small part in fostering. We aim to unite the Negro people in struggle for their full and equal rights, for manhood status, for the fullest cultural advancement—to unite the Negro people as a part of the People's Front for democracy and peace.

The Negroes have already played a large role in the movement to organize the unorganized, to build powerfully strong labor organizations, to advance the cause of labor as a whole. Negro voters played no small part in the smashing defeat given to the Hearst-Landon-Liberty League reaction in the last election; no small part of the organization of the progressive forces was contributed by the strong Negro vote, particularly in the North and Mid-West. The Negroes are rapidly becoming a decisive progressive influence in the political life of the country.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

During the month of May it was my privilege to go to Spain and to pay a visit to the volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion on the front. I was thrilled to find splendid Negro fighters together with their white brothers and comrades, all of whom were making a splendid record for America in Spain. Ethiopian volunteers were there also. These Negro volunteers were keen to send the message back that they were fighting on Spanish soil for those principles of democracy (against fascism) which the Negro people have been fighting for in the United States for more than a century. The Ethiopian

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warriors eagerly stated that the fight in the trenches of Spain today was a continuation of the struggle for the liberation of their country from Italian fascism.

I feel sure that these Negro volunteers, upon their return to our shores, are going to take their place again in our ranks as great leaders of the Negro people and of the entire working class movement. One could already observe a great transformation in these men since the short time they have been there. We hail them! We pay the highest honor and tribute to the first Negro to die for the cause of democracy in Spain—Alonzo Watson.

We have here the basis for a strong peace movement among the Negro people throughout the United States. This movement for peace, this moving toward the People's Front against reaction, is taking definite form among the Negro people.

The National Negro Congress was conceived by its initiators as a rallying center for the Negro people to fight off greater oppression. The elements of a broad movement took shape at Chicago, at its first convention, in February, 1936. The aims of this movement have not, however, yet been fully realized. The Congress will have to consider seriously certain tactical as well as organizational steps, if it is fully to realize its aspirations. It will have to give more attention to various strata among the Negro people, and approach their various organizations more carefully and with greater understanding. Too often the groupings among the Negro people are not understood in the right light, nor on the basis of the decisive role they play in Negro life. We find ourselves puzzled over the conservatives, the "middle-of-the-roaders" and those now going to the Left, and we wonder whether these strata can be reconciled to work together, whether it is worth while to attempt the job. Once and for all, in the conditions of American life today, it should be clear to every honest and sincere person, not only that this can be done but that it must be done.

We Communists are very much concerned with building the National Negro Congress. We want, to the fullest possible extent, to help make the Negro Congress movement something that represents the broadest sections of the Negro people, an instrument for combating the many evils which face the Negro people. We are interested in finding the best method by which this can be done. We are interested in working with all who, like us, want to reach the same goal.

The National Negro Congress movement cannot become that instrument of struggle and for unity if it does not do everything possible to see to it that all strata of the Negro people and their sympathizers and friends work cooperatively. Let us take for example some of the major Negro organizations and see what relationship they bear to a united Negro people's movement. Let us take such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the National Colored Women's Federation, and church and fraternal organizations.

In *The Communist* for June, 1936, I had occasion to write:

"We note now that certain very definite changes in the policy [of the N.A.A.C.P.] regarding labor were made at the St. Louis convention.

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"It recognized 'the Negro as a landless proletariat in the country and as a propertyless wage-earner in the city, a reservoir of cheap labor . . . more easily exploited than white labor.' "

The N.A.A.C.P. encouraged its branches to set up classes in workers' education designed to create among Negroes a knowledge of their present role in industry and a realization of their identity of interests with white labor, and so forth and so on.

We stated at that time that this offered an opportunity for common action and for Communists to work in local branches for the furtherance of this program.

Since that time, the N.A.A.C.P. has broadened its scope of work in a number of fields. It has conducted an excellent campaign with splendid results for the passage of anti-lynching legislation. The N.A.A.C.P. has increased its prestige and now has wide influence among the Negro people. Similarly the Workers' Councils of the Urban League have to their credit quite a number of progressive undertakings.

Certainly we Communists welcome this progress and desire to do everything possible to extend the work of building and broadening the movement of the Negro people in cooperation with the N.A.A.C.P., the National Negro Congress, the Urban League, and other organizations.

ANALYZING SOME EXPERIENCES IN BUILDING THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

I want to give a couple of examples of how Communists can at times hinder the growth of the National Negro Congress. We have the case of a conflict between two leading members of the New York Council of the Congress—one of them a Communist—who work in the W.P.A. set-up. Both are members of the Executive Committee of the local council and of the national body. The Communist is also a member of a leading trade union; the other, a director of a relief project. The Communist was fired from his job by the latter, on charges that are not here material. Our comrade and others around him allowed the real issues in the case to become obscured by what appeared to be personal considerations. That was wrong. The Congress could not perform its normal function when personal antagonisms were allowed to obscure the vital issues. The Communists should have been the first to leave no stone unturned to get down to the real issues. The manner in which the case was handled produced bad results. Apparently even other members of the National Council, perhaps through lack of knowledge of all the facts in the case, took a biased position. This did the Congress no good; it did the union no good.

A second example is the case of the precipitate strike called at the New York *Amsterdam News*, in March. The Newspaper Guild and the *Amsterdam News* have an agreement. The Guild, during a previous strike, won closed-shop conditions. This is the only Negro newspaper in the United States where closed-shop conditions have been won by the Guild. According to reports the agreement provides for the right to hire and fire. Recently the owners fired two workers. And here again without a thorough investigation, a situation was allowed to develop where a strike was called precipitately.

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Some of the Communists involved allowed themselves to be swayed by people under the influence of Trotskyites. These Trotskyites were terribly revolutionary. They wanted immediate strike action; they charged the Communists with "wanting to sacrifice the interests of the union for considerations of the People's Front." We Communists believe that in Negro communities the most careful considerations should be given to every angle of the Negro people's movement. We must point out to the Negro workers that hastily called strikes under the influence of Trotskyites, who are enemies of the People's Front, will not do the union or the individual members involved any good.

It is to the interest of the unions to give careful consideration to all issues in a Negro community, even involving Negro owners of newspapers. It is obviously not true that the Communists were afraid to antagonize certain owners of the *Amsterdam News* because they were active in building a united front around Ethiopia. But it is true that we Communists are interested in building up sympathy for trade union organization among all sections as far as possible in Negro communities. Of course, the Trotskyites are only interested in destroying the united People's Front for Ethiopia and the anti-fascist People's Front involving the trade unions. They do everything possible to cause confusion and disruption. In the case of the Guild fight at the *Amsterdam News* the National Negro Congress was not involved. But here again, we get an example of the need for care in the struggle to build up unity among the Negro people.

The Negro people are ready for unity. Expressions of this readiness come from many valuable and influential sources. The other day, the following appeared in Mr. Jones' column in the Baltimore *Afro-American*:

"We are in the midst of the recasting of our general organizational programs and spheres of operation to meet these rapidly changing times and problems. Since one of the defects and weak spots in our group's battleline against the common enemy is the lack of unified action, the time would seem right for consideration of more united front at the points where most of the organizational objectives merge."

Now this is an excellent statement of the situation. We must let everyone know that we stand for just this sort of action. We must help to get others to see this viewpoint.

About the Socialist Party and united action on the problems of the Negro people, I do not at this moment want to discuss our differences with the Socialist Party on the Negro question, nor the fact that the Trotskyites within the Socialist Party attempt to distort the Negro question and disrupt efforts at united action for Negro rights. I simply want to re-emphasize that there are points and possibilities for united action on which there is mutual agreement. The resolution adopted on Negro work at the National Convention of the Socialist Party reads in part:

"Such mass organizations as the National Negro Congress, youth and adult, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the like, are fields for disciplined Socialist work. Their weaknesses are obvious; but no effective attempt in this work can overlook the opportunity for hand-to-hand conflict with the problems of the American Negro and his similarly exploited white brothers which they represent."

I think that this is a big step forward

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for the Socialist Party. Let all of those who stand for unity welcome it.

THE QUESTION OF NEGRO WOMEN

It is a glorious thing to learn that Negro women are clamoring to get into our Party. They are beating at our doors. I think that is a mighty fine thing. We must find the way to make it possible for Negro women to get into our Party and into the fullest leadership in the Party. We must take lessons from the Negro organizations on this question. They consider the women the foremost leaders of the Negro people. Most organizations have an active women's leadership.

On June 6, a conference was held in Harlem by the Women's Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on work among Negro women. It was a most successful conference. I will not speak about it in detail. For our consideration of how to win Negro women and involve them in mass activity, we must learn to take up in a mass way the special problems of Negro women and organize them for struggle. I think, in the first place, we should give consideration to the organization of women domestic workers. Do you know, comrades, that the greatest degree of employment among the Negroes as a whole is found, according to United States statistics, among domestic and personal servants? No one has to tell this audience of the working conditions of this category of workers. The fact is that they are not organized, and it is difficult to organize them because of the peculiarities of the industry. Among laundry workers, also, we find a great number of Negro women. If we develop struggles among these workers, we shall bring thousands of them into organizations and we shall win hundreds of them for the Communist Party. Naturally, there are other categories. There are many white collar workers, there are thousands of teachers, middle class and other categories.

The resolution of the Women's Commission on work among Negro women says:

> "The main emphasis was on the promotion of cadres. It was proposed that special attention be given to Negro women on the basis of their special problems; that special women's training classes be organized where necessary, that more Negro women be brought forward in the leadership of the Party, trade union, C.I.O., unemployed and peace movements."

There is absolute agreement with this. I want to indicate how we are approaching this question. In Chicago, for example, one of the best C.I.O. organizers in the Calumet region is a Negro woman. In Harlem one of the most active workers in the United Aid Committee for Ethiopia is a Negro woman who is executive secretary of that organization. I want to call your attention to a Negro woman, Frances Duty, who has been brought forward as the leader of the Workers Alliance in Harlem.

Only today there was a mass demonstration of the relief workers in Harlem .Four thousand workers took part; thousands lined the streets. It was my pleasure, along with Comrade Benjamin, national leader of the Alliance, to lead this demonstration through the streets of Harlem along with Frances Duty. We were very proud. As we wound our way through the streets of Harlem, workers along the line of

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march were constantly waving their hands in friendly greetings to Mrs. Duty, hailing her by name. It was a great thing. Here was a woman who had become a mass leader, not only a woman leader, but a leader of one of the largest mass movements in Harlem, respected and accepted by the masses. That is the kind of leader that Comrade Dimitroff spoke of at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. That is the way we try and want to bring women leaders forward in Harlem and throughout the country. We feel very proud of Frances Duty. She has qualified.

I want to give another example. The whole city is familiar with the movement in and around the Harlem Hospital. The Harlem Hospital issues are a rallying ground for the civic movement in the whole of Harlem. I must say a word about the splendid work done there by a Negro woman. All Harlem knows her and her fine work.

We have had the occasion to pay tribute at this plenum to one of the longest in Party membership among the leading Negro women comrades. I refer to Comrade Maude White whose tenth anniversary in our Party is celebrated this month. It was very fine of Comrade Browder to use this occasion to dramatize work among Negro women by paying tribute to Comrade White. Ten years is not a long time if for example we compare it with the long brilliant record of Comrade Mother Bloor. But it is unusual for a Negro woman comrade.

THE NEGROES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

About the Democratic Party and the Negro people. Comrade Browder has given us a complete perspective for work in building and extending the People's Front. What position should the Negro people take toward the Democratic Party? We have to answer this question not only in the North and Mid-West, but for the South also.

Big changes of great value for the Negro people are taking place in the whole political life of the country. The differentiations taking place in the Democratic Party have to be studied and understood. The Negro people, although held back by all sorts of political inequalities which are foreign to democratic forms and methods, are going to play a big role in progressive currents now forming in the Democratic Party in the South. The Republican Party plays a little role in the South; in fact, there is only one party in the South and that is the Democratic Party. It is clear, however, that the Republican Party which now has become the rallying ground throughout the country for every reactionary force is going to try to build itself in the South. It is going to bring to itself all the worst elements of the South. But it will not get the Negro people.

Yesterday, I read an interesting article in the *Daily Worker*. It was an interview by Elizabeth Lawson with an ex-slave by the name of George Washington Albright, 91 years of age. When he was asked why he had recently abandoned the Republican Party in whose ranks he served for more than half a century, he replied:

> "Do you suppose that at my age I can't tell the difference between a Lincoln Republican and a Landon Republican? Look at all the rich Democrats who've jumped out of the Democratic Party into the Republican!"

This is true not only of old Repub-

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licans who have gone through the mill of Republicanism but of the new generation of Negro people who see and understand the great transition taking place in our country and the great change that has taken place in the Republican Party. The Republican Party is not what it used to be. Neither is the Democratic Party the same party it was ten or even five years ago. Great changes are taking place within these parties. The Democratic Party is being split by the reactionaries who are gravitating to the Republican Party where all the worst reactionaries of the country are congregating. It is only in the light of these changes and shifts that we can consider the attitude to be taken by Negroes to the new line-up of political forces taking place in the country.

What are these changes? It would be incorrect to say, and simply leave it at that, that Roosevelt's administration is based on the solid South. We have seen what changes are taking place in the South. The defeat of Talmadge in Georgia in the fall, as an anti-New Dealer, already shows certain developments in the South. Talmadge represented the most reactionary section of the old South who fights any progressive change whether it is radicalism or the progressivism of the Roosevelt New Dealers.

In the state of Virginia in the last elections 22,000 votes were cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties. A Negro Communist, Comrade Wright, got 400 votes for Congress in Norfolk. There is a developing progressive vote in the South. It may have to express itself through the Democratic Party, in a fight in the primaries against the reactionaries, leading toward the development of the broadest People's Front movement.

The progressives and the progressive labor movement of the South which is against the reactionaries realize who their allies are in the struggle against the bourbons. They are the Negro people. They realize the drawbacks against the Negro people, the denial of the right to vote, excessive poll taxes, etc., and that they will have to conduct a fight against these evils if both Negro and white farmers and workers and oppressed in general are going to unite to defeat the reactionary machine in the Democratic Party. In certain localities movements are already being organized to fight the poll tax, to modify it, and to break down the disfranchisement of Negro and white workers by breaking down the poll tax system.

There are excellent developments in the state of Texas leading to a progressive independent action of progressive forces inside the Democratic Party. There is a movement statewide in character among the Negro people, former Republicans, who are beginning to organize for independent political action and are ready to support any democratic and labor political movement which will deal fairly with them. There are a half million Negroes in Texas and they are beginning to move.

Our attitude toward the Democratic Party in the South should be governed by these developments, that is, the development of a progressive movement within the Democratic Party moving against political inequalities of the Negro people, a movement that will take a clear, definite stand in support of the burning issues before the Amer-

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ican people, such as the Supreme Court issue, relief to the unemployed, political rights for the Negro people, against taxation on the poor, for the reorganization of the government to give more democracy and particularly to extend democracy for the Negroes. We can support in the primaries Negro and white candidates who stand for these issues against the reactionaries.

So far as the North is concerned, we shall find situations favorable for action within the Democratic primaries. To give one example, there is already in Harlem a fight within Tammany which presents possibilities for us to determine the course of action toward progress. In a fight in Tammany among the Negroes we can support the fight of those elements that fight against the reactionaries even in the primaries. There is already a fight on the issue of Negro leadership against the standpat reactionaries that want to limit the Negroes. We can take sides on these issues and inject progressive issues.

In certain communities where the progressive movement has not taken on organizational strength enough to influence the election of a progressive, we can in certain instances support Negro candidates in the primaries and especially in localities where Negroes have not held office for years and perhaps never. There is such an example in Boston, as was reported to the Negro Commission by Comrade Frankfield. I think we can OK the steps taken by the Boston comrades.

TRADE UNION WORK

The movement to organize the steel, auto and other industries by the C.I.O. has great significance for the Negro people. In steel there are nearly 100,000 Negroes. This movement has a larger significance: one hundred thousand Negro steel workers fighting and winning economic advancement and security for themselves and their families. This great movement in the trade union field will help to break down the barriers of Jim-Crowism generally. This great upheaval among steel workers to organize themselves has stirred up a keen desire among large sections of the Negro people to join trade unions. The declared policy of the C.I.O. to establish the principles and right of collective bargaining for the purpose of improving economic conditions through all-embracing trade unions has great value for the Negro people. The unity of Negro and white workers is of great importance to combat the employers who would lower the standard of living of all workers in the present crucial period of American labor. The automobile manufacturers in Detroit are at this moment trying to stir up racial animosity between Negro and white workers in order to make the work of organization more difficult. The same may be said about the steel barons in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Spain has great significance for the Negro people. Both German and Italian fascism have and are directly intervening in the affairs of Spain against the interest of the Spanish people. Just as in Ethiopia so in Spain international law has been trampled under foot by these fascist bandits. In Spain, just as was the case in Ethiopia, liberty is being menaced everywhere by the unbridled aggression of Italy and Germany. The hand of Italian fascism is

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strengthened over Ethiopia if a compromise is bestowed upon these enemies of the Spanish people. The cause of the Spanish people is the cause of the people of the world. A victory for the Spanish people over fascism and fascist intervention is a victory favorable for the Ethiopian people. A new friendly ally of the Ethiopian people will be born with the success of the Spanish people's democratic government.

Success for the Spanish people will strengthen the forces of progress and peace in our own country; it will be of great value for the Negro people here who want to gain, maintain and extend democracy.

BUILDING THE PARTY AMONG THE NEGRO PEOPLE

In order to build the Party among the Negro people and to extend the united Negro People's Front, it is necessary to renew our struggle for the immediate and elementary needs of the Negro people already outlined in the beginning. Our Party must stand out in the independent fights of the Negro people.

Another factor necessary in building the Party among the Negro people is the question of the training and retraining of our personnel. This was a special point on the agenda of the Negro Commission of the plenum. Comrade Bassett made an excellent report and outlined a program of reading, study, self-study courses and schools for speedily overcoming a very great shortcoming in this field.

If we make a careful analysis of our Negro personnel, we find both among the leading forces as well as among secondary leaders, a woeful lack of systematic training in revolutionary theory and practice. We have, therefore, agreed to organize a national training school. We have agreed to require of comrades in leading work who are unable to attend these schools to submit a plan of self-study and reading.

There is a great need for pamphlets on Negro problems. A number of comrades have been assigned to write popular pamphlets.

We are re-emphasizing to those districts where there are large concentrations of Negroes to give special attention to the organization of the Party apparatus. The experiences in Harlem, Chicago and Cleveland should be extended. A special problem is that of daily attention on the part of the state or district bureaus.

Following the plenum, regional conferences in the biggest and most important districts should be organized and a representative of the center should attend these conferencees.

At a recent meeting of the Negro Commission held in New York, Comrade Browder said the following to us:

"I would say that the main feature of the past year has been that in the field of work among the Negro pople, as in most of the other fields of our work, we have begun to realize on a mass scale the results of the line of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. We have begun to emerge from sectarian isolation and become a mass influence, a mass power. As in our Party work generally, this has been accompanied by a sharpening of all the problems involved in our work. All of our weaknesses and inadequacies come out most sharply now, precisely because we have made some tremendous gains and thereby face responsibilities which politically we feel equipped to meet."

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BUILDING THE PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PROLETARIAN UNITY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The following is the text of the resolution on Comrade Browder's report adopted at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on June 17 to 20:

THE GREAT strike wave, with its unexampled militancy and new tactics, is establishing new working class strongholds within the very fortress of finance capital, in the auto and steel industries, bringing into motion great masses of American workers in all industries and localities. This is the logical consequence of the advance of the American people in the 1936 elections which frustrated the attempts of the reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies to seize power and which started the welding together of the forces of the People's Front.

At last the working class is beginning to emerge as a conscious and organized force seeking to collaborate with its natural allies among the toiling farmers, the Negroes and middle classes of the cities. The rise of the C.I.O., its victories, and the development of Labor's Non-Partisan League are the outstanding manifestations of this historic fact.

The economic recovery is already approaching pre-crisis levels. And although this recovery shows increasing signs of an accumulation of factors making for another crash, it is on the whole continuing upward, and thus serves to stimulate further the struggle for the organization of the unorganized, for the consolidation of the advances already made and for the improvement of the conditions of the workers.

The struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, against speed-up, for better working conditions, for collective bargaining and for union recognition through formally signed agreements, continues to be the outstanding development in industry. At the same time, organized resistance is beginning to manifest itself in the reckless driving up of prices by the monopolies which is largely responsible for the steady rise in the cost of living, which is eating up the wage increases, and for the fresh rise of unfavorable trends in farm prices as compared with industrial prices. Large masses of workers whose wages remained stationary, especially the white-collar groups, sections of the agricultural workers and

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those on the W.P.A., are today in worse conditions than a year ago, due to the rising cost of living, and are therefore manifesting a readiness for organization and struggle. Most acute is the growing housing shortage, the unprecedented rise in rents, and the unfolding struggle against these intolerable conditions.

Reaction and fascism, defeated in the elections, have by no means given up the fight. Politically, they are gathering their forces ever more thoroughly and systematically, concentrating on the issue of the Supreme Court and opposing with the most extreme bitterness the efforts of the more progressive and democratic elements to reform that reactionary and archaic fortress of privilege and monopoly. On the economic field, they are organizing violent and stubborn resistance to the legitimate and elementary demands of the workers, as in the steel strike, and are preparing for a favorable moment to start a general offensive against the trade unions, first of all against the unions of the C.I.O., to emasculate and destroy them.

CHANGING CLASS RELATIONS

The strike of the steel workers against the four "independent" steel companies is, in the truest sense of the word, a struggle of the entire working class and of the whole progressive camp against the economic royalists, against reaction, against the same fascist-minded forces that are politically concentrating their attack on the proposal to reform the Supreme Court. In the steel strike, as well as in the struggle on the Supreme Court issue, reaction is seeking to mobilize for itself the farmers and the middle classes of the cities, resorting to unrestrained fascist demagogy and vigilante terror. The progressive forces of the country, and especially the working class, are, therefore, faced with the urgent task of improving and strengthening their relations with the middle classes of town and country by systematic collaboration with the middle classes on the economic and political fields.

During and since the presidential elections, a great shift of class forces has taken place within the two major parties. On the one hand there is a concentration of reactionary forces around the Republican Party which is drawing to itself more and more the reactionary circles of the Democratic Party. On the other hand, the forces gathering around Roosevelt in the Democratic Party include a large proportion of radicalized masses and advanced workers whose growing independent power and political consciousness are influencing the Democratic Party in a progressive and democratic direction, especially against the trusts and monopolies.

Since the presidential elections, this process has manifested itself clearly in the struggle around social and progressive legislation, most glaringly on the issue of the Supreme Court reform, in the attitude towards the right of the workers to organize and strike, partly on the issues of relief, taxation and the budget, and to an extent on the question of peace. On all these issues, the Republican Party has been gathering around itself the reactionary and fascist-minded forces, collaborating with and drawing to itself the reactionary elements of the Demo-

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cratic Party that are in rebellion against the policies and leadership of Roosevelt in their own party and in Congress. The organized labor movement, especially the Committee for Industrial Organization, Labor's Non-Partisan League, large masses of toiling farmers and city middle classes have tended to rally around Roosevelt in the Democratic Party, seeking by independent organization and struggle to influence that party, the ruling party of the country, to work for a progressive and democratic solution of these issues.

All these developments, showing as they do a rapid growth of the forces making for a People's Front, at the same time slow down the tempo of their immediate crystallization into the form of a broad national Farmer-Labor Party, and express themselves at this time in a variety of forms and through various transitional channels.

In this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States decides upon the following as the most immediate and important tasks of the Party.

I. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AND THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Experience since the Seventh World Congress has proven the correctness of its decision regarding the Farmer-Labor Party as a specific form of the People's Front in the U.S.A. At the same time, this experience has shown that the People's Front cannot now be limited to the Farmer-Labor Party which is not yet acceptable to the most important forces essential to its success, first of all, the trade unions of the C.I.O. These forces, which still express themselves politically largely within and around the Democratic Party, are clearly ripe for inclusion in a broad People's Front movement that does not call upon them to split organizationally and to form now a new party. Therefore, at this time, the development of the People's Front can only proceed along such lines as will combine the Farmer-Labor Party form of the People's Front with the simultaneous development of progressive movements within the Democratic Party (in some localities, also within the Republican Party), in elections as well as in other economic and political movements of the masses.

This does not exclude the eventual merger of all these forces in the more developed form of the People's Front —the Farmer-Labor Party. But to insist now that the Farmer-Labor Party is the only predominant form would hinder the immediate broadest People's Front formation as well as delay the eventual national Farmer-Labor Party.

The development and stimulation of the progressive forces within the Democratic Party, and the collaboration with them, must be guided along the following lines:

A. The conception of the Farmer-Labor Party and its role as laid down at the Seventh World Congress remains unchanged as the main guiding line for the Communist Party of the United States.

B. Insofar as mass trade unions and other progressive groups, politically active in the direction of the People's Front platform, are not ready at present to join in the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, we should en-

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courage them to systematic and organized activity within the Democratic Party, with the utmost possible independent organization, making a common front with all Left forces to defeat the reactionaries and to strengthen the progressive forces in that party.

c. In such cases where the progressive forces succeed in nominating progressive candidates and determining their platform, the Communists will support such candidates in the election.

d. Where the progressive candidates are defeated in the primaries, every effort must be made to secure independent candidates backed by the same forces, failing which the Communist Party may put up its own candidates, giving consideration as to what will be most advantageous for the further development of the People's Front.

Despite the active and growing resistance of its reactionary wing the Democratic Party is moving, though unevenly, in a progressive direction under the influence of the regrouping of class forces which is taking place in the country. Thus, there is being crystallized within that party a progressive formation embracing ever larger sections and masses of that party and its organizations. These progressive forces in the Democratic Party are either already entering (though not yet in numerous cases) the broad People's Front movement or they will be allies of the working class in this movement tomorrow. The Communist Party will support all those measures of the Democratic Party and of the Roosevelt administration (such as the proposal to reform the Supreme Court) which have a progressive character, promote the democratic rights and economic interests of the mass of the people, and are directed against reaction, fascism and war.

Care must be taken to guard against all possible vulgarizations and distortions of this policy. All tendencies to weaken the independent political organization of labor in general and also where mass trade unions are carrying on organized activity within the Democratic Party, failure to keep always open before the masses the perspective of the national Farmer-Labor Party as a specific form of the People's Front in the United States, as well as failure to build independent people's tickets or Farmer-Labor Parties in mature situations—such and similar tendencies must be stubbornly resisted as detrimental to the struggle against reaction and to the further development of the People's Front movement.

On the other hand, we must also guard against the serious danger of such distortions of our policy as will tend to force the progressive mass trade unions, and the progressive elements in the Democratic Party to join in the formation of Farmer-Labor Parties before the decisive elements in these movements are ready for such advanced steps, and in such premature circumstances as may spell the isolation of the more advanced Farmer-Labor forces and the consequent weakening of the whole progressive camp.

Equally we must be on guard against the attempts of reaction to brand our policy as a Communist effort "to capture" the Democratic Party. There can be no doubt that, as the Farmer-Labor movement continues to grow with the simultaneous strengthening

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of the progressive forces in the Democratic Party, reaction and fascism will once again attempt, as they tried in the 1936 elections, to brand the whole progressive camp as Communist in order to obscure the real issue, which continues to be—progress or reaction, democracy or fascism.

The position of the Communist Party is perfectly clear. The Communist Party participates in and seeks to promote further the development of the People's Front against fascism and war, encouraging and supporting all forms and channels through which the People's Front movement is growing at the present time, and seeking to help the whole movement to reach the eventual crystallization of a broad national Farmer-Labor Party.

THE PLATFORM OF STRUGGLE

The Communist Party, fighting for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class and all toilers, will fight for the completion of the full national unification of the United States, for the wiping out of the localisms and particularisms which reaction exploits to divide the people and to paralyze the efforts at social legislation, and for the establishment of an effective democracy though the abolition of the judicial dictatorship and by the setting up of a national electoral system which guarantees the right of citizenship to all, abolishes all franchise restrictions, provides direct and proportional representation in each state and locality—a policy, in short, which will continue under the conditions of today the democratic work begun by Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

On this basis, the Communist Party proposes the elements of a platform for the development of the People's Front to include such demands as:

Enforce true collective bargaining including signed agreements.

Check the high cost of living.

Put America back to work.

Provide jobs and a living wage for all.

Provide unemployment insurance, old age pensions and social security for all.

Enforce the full and unrestricted right of labor to trade union organization, to strike and to picket.

Provide for the curbing of monopoly prices to the toiling farmers and toiler-consumers.

Provide adequate and decent housing for the toilers of city and farm at rents within their means.

Save the young generation.

Free the farmers from debts, from unbearable tax burdens and foreclosures.

Guarantee the land to those who till the soil.

The rich hold the wealth of our country—make the rich pay.

Fight fascism, reaction and its Liberty League.

Defend and extend democratic rights and civil liberties.

Curb the Supreme Court.

Full and equal rights for the Negro people.

Equal rights for women and protective measures for their special needs.

Keep America out of war by collaborating with all peace-loving and democratic forces to keep war out of the world.

The struggle for labor, farmer and

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progressive legislation, in the nation as a whole, as well as in the states and municipalities, is proceeding at an increasing pace. In view of the attempts of reaction, working through a coalition of Republicans and reactionary Democrats, to block and obstruct the struggle of the progressive forces for more effective social legislation, and to force the Roosevelt administration to cease all efforts in this direction, it has become imperative to establish the closest collaboration among labor, farmer and all other progressive forces, especially with the progressives in the Democratic Party, for the purpose of welding together a broad People's Front in defense of the legislative demands of the masses. This will enable the people to fight more effectively for their legislative programs as well as to promote further the realignment of forces favorable to the People's Front movement and the eventual crystallization of a national Farmer-Labor Party.

THE INDEPENDENT ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Working on the basis of this democratic People's Front platform, the Communist Party in no way should lose its identity or slacken in the task of strengthening its role as the most advanced and revolutionary section of the People's Front movement. This means that, in the midst of these mass movements, the Communist Party membership and organizations must:

A. Build the Communist Party into a mass party;

B. Carry on mass propaganda for its final aims of working class power and socialism;

C. As the vanguard of the mass movement, point out the next steps of the struggle, initiating and supporting the progressive and democratic demands of the movement.

At the same time, it is necessary always and systematically to criticize those measures and policies current among the progressive forces or their allies (like some of the measures and policies of the Roosevelt administration) which are not helpful to the cause of democracy, but rather are detrimental and harmful to that cause.

In this way, the Communist Party must guard against the danger of dissolving itself in the general mass movement either ideologically or organizationally. It must aim to become more and more the initiating, organizing and unifying force of the People's Front movement and, at the same time, the gathering, organizing and recruiting center of the most advanced elements of that movement. This should express itself in the mass agitation of the Party, in its independent activities of various forms, and in the central organ of the Party, the *Daily Worker*. This strengthening of the initiative and of the independent political activity of the Party can be only beneficial to the successful development of the People's Front. And, in turn, only the most powerful development of the people's mass movement can create the most favorable condition for the growth and strengthening of the Communist Party.

The mass propaganda of our final aims of working class power and socialism, especially through the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, must be neither abstract nor mechanical, nor

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must it degenerate into utopian descriptions of the future age. Socialism is to be propagated among the masses on the basis of their daily experiences with the misery, insecurity and oppression of decaying capitalism and its worst products—reaction, fascism and war—sponsored and promoted by the economic royalists, the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital. Socialism is to be propagated by contrasting the world of capitalism with the world of socialism as it is built and lived in the Soviet Union. Socialism is to be propagated by systematically educating the masses to the understanding that the wealth and technical powers of our country are by themselves insufficient to insure a happy and secure life for all but that only the socialist organization of society can fully utilize these tremendous resources to realize the dream and promise of American life (Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism). Socialism is to be propagated among the masses by spreading widely the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and popularizing Marxian traditions in the United States, the pioneering role of Marxism in the emergence of a modern labor movement in the United States. Finally, socialism is to be propagated among the masses by drawing before them systematically all the basic lessons from the daily struggle against fascism and for the People's Front; the role of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard as the backbone of the struggle, the transition to the socialist revolution which this struggle is creating, the special task of the working class in the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, and the historic role of the Communist Party in the struggle for socialism.

In carrying through the policy of the People's Front, Communists should in no way leave out of sight the main strategic task of the Party—the economic and political organization and unification of the American working class as the most important factor in the People's Front and in the struggle against war and fascism. This refers particularly to the building of the C.I.O. unions, to the struggle for trade union unity and to the development of the workers' mass political organ—Labor's Non-Partisan League. The realization of the decisions of the March National Conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which call for independent working class political action, collaboration with labor's allies and all progressives and the building up of League organizations in all working class communities, will enable American labor to play a most effective part in the further promotion of the People's Front movement. Communists will work most ardently for the realization of these decisions and for the building up of the Labor's Non-Partisan League on a true mass democratic basis.

The realization of the decisions of the March Conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League will also stimulate economic and political organization among the toiling farmers, which is now lagging, will draw more closely into the People's Front movement the middle classes of the cities, the women and youth, the Negro people, and will stimulate more systematic collaboration between these elements and the progressive forces in the

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Democratic Party. This will also stimulate the creation of a united Negro People's Front.

The building up of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the full realization of its policy of collaboration with all progressives are becoming more urgent in view of the close approach of the municipal elections whose outcome will have important consequences for the course of the current struggles between reaction and progress, for the struggle of the C.I.O. unions, as well as for the political realignment in the Congressional elections of 1938.

In connection with the struggle for the unity of the working class, it is necessary that the Communists pay special attention to the development of proper relations with the Socialist Party. This requires active work to establish united fronts with local organizations and all honest elements in the Socialist Party, helping them to clean the ranks and policies of the Socialist Party from counter-revolutionary and fascist Trotskyism, and impressing upon them that the establishment of the united front of the Communist Party and Socialist Party is one of the most important prerequisites of unity of the working class.

There can be no neglect of this task and any underestimation of it can only be harmful to the cause of working class unity. We must see to it that the Party policy and agitation for this task receives untiring attention in every Party organization. In our work for a united front with the Socialist Party, we must systematically expose and combat the wrecking and disruptive activities carried on by the Trotskyites through the Socialist Party in the trade unions and in the People's Front movements.

This becomes especially necessary in the face of the fascist role played by the Trotskyites (P.O.U.M., etc.), in Spain which was also defended by the Lovestonites; it was demonstrated glaringly in the attempted Barcelona uprising against the People's Front government; in the exposures of the Trotskyite spying and wrecking activities for the fascist governments in the Soviet Union; and in their activities of similar nature wherever they are allowed to penetrate.

II. THE TRADE UNION QUESTION AND THE FIGHT FOR UNITY

The rise of mass trade unions of a militant and progressive character under the leadership of the Committee for Industrial Organization marks the emergence of a conscious working class in American life. The success of this movement in organizing the unorganized millions of American workers is vital for the future not only of the labor movement but of the whole American democracy.

Resisting stubbornly this most progressive development, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor suspended the Committee for Industrial Organization unions from the council, passed on to open sabotage and strike-breaking of C.I.O. organizing and strike actions, and later issued the order for the general splitting of the A. F. of L. by the expulsion of C.I.O. locals from city

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central bodies and state federations. This was followed by the Cincinnati conference of the reactionary A. F. of L. top bureaucrats which usurped the power to legalize these criminal actions and launched upon a course of further splitting and strike-breaking, of adopting company unions and collaborating with the open shop monopolies against the workers.

It is thus by the direct responsibility of William Green and the Executive Council, and against the determined opposition of the progressive workers everywhere, that the unity of the labor movement is being broken, and that two opposing trade union centers of leadership are facing each other, one progressive, the other reactionary.

The attitude of the Communist Party has been at all times clear and remains so—to combat by all means the splitting activities of the Executive Council, to maintain the unity of the trade unions, and to support with all possible forces the organization of millions of workers into the unions of the C.I.O. as the main organizing center of the American working class.

This means at the present time, maximum concentration of effort for the winning of the fight in steel, the expansion and consolidation of the union in auto (the drive in Ford's), the success of the textile drive, the C.I.O. organization of the agricultural and white collar workers, the firm establishment of the C.I.O. on the Pacific Coast, the national unification of the marine workers in the C.I.O., and the building up of powerful national C.I.O. unions in transport and in the utilities. Special attention should be paid, and special measures developed, to extend the C.I.O. drives among the Negroes in the basic industries.

At the same time the Communists should develop maximum activity to win the A. F. of L. unions to resist the splitting tactics of their reactionary leaders, to adopt and carry out in the interests of their membership and of the working class the policy of the C.I.O. unions and to come out boldly for the unity of the trade union movement. We must devote special attention to the unions on the railroads and in the building trades on such a program as will win their membership and organizations to the adoption of C.I.O. policies, to an effective struggle against the reactionary splitters of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and to active participation in the struggle for trade union unity.

The Communist Party will continue to give its best forces and to mobolize all its organizations to assist the work of the C.I.O. We call upon the whole working class to do the same. The future of this movement requires from all advanced and militant workers to seek to win the confidence and trust of the millions of newly organized workers through loyal, effective and self-sacrificing devotion to the success of the C.I.O.

It is necessary to work for the development of inner union democracy. This will help to promote to the leading bodies of the unions the best, most loyal and capable elements and this will provide the best guarantee for the development of the unions of

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the C.I.O. as unions based upon the policies of class struggle.

In the practical work in the unions, Communists should exert special efforts to come into close and intimate contact with the hundreds and thousands of new militant active trade unionists who come forward on the wave of the mass trade union upsurge. It is imperative to carry on the most painstaking educational work with these active trade unionists, to help them in their practical work, and to develop their class consciousness and political maturity.

Complete support of the C.I.O. is in no contradiction to the policy of struggle for unity of the trade union movement. On the contrary, only through such support of the C.I.O. does the unification of the labor movement become a practical task. We must continue uncompromising opposition to the splitting activities of the Executive Council. We must never cease to demand the unification of the trade union movement.

In line with this policy, the Party has raised the question of the convocation of a trade union unity congress of the unions of the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods and other unaffiliated unions. Let all those who stand for unity and solidarity come to such a congress. As for those who refuse to come, they would by this very action place themselves outside the movement; but the unity congress itself would expel no organization of workers. It would stand four square against all expulsions and splits and for the unification of the trade unions into a single federation.

III. ORGANIZING THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES FOR PEACE

The camp of peace faces the problem of organizing a serious mass movement against war and fascism which should embrace not only the three to four million now associated with the American League Against War and Fascism, but the bulk of the American people who sincerely desire peace. This problem will be solved in the first instance by breaking down the conception of isolation and neutrality as the road to peace and by preparing the masses for active collaboration with the peace forces of the world upon the basis of a real international policy of peace.

The shameful embargo against democratic Spain adopted by Congress strikingly demonstrates how the reactionary camp is able to manipulate the peace sentiments of the masses in the interests of the fascist warmakers by means of the neutrality slogans. Thus the general intimations in favor of a policy of peace, given by Roosevelt and Hull in Buenos Aires, are nullified in practice by Congressional legislation and by the State Department, and the very peace sentiments of the masses are distorted into support of reaction.

Despite the appearance of strength, the policy of neutrality is in a crisis. It is under heavy criticism, and already there is a growing recognition that it is unrealizable, that its attempted application makes more for war than peace. But as yet there is no generally accepted clear alternative policy of peace.

The chief task in mobilizing the

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broadest masses for peace is to secure the general acceptance of such an alternative policy. Success in this cannot be gained by head-on collision with the existing mass prejudices against the League of Nations. But there is an established feature of American foreign policy, generally accepted by the masses, which can serve as the center of such a policy, and around which the masses could be rallied. This is the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris signed by more than fifty nations, including the United States. With provisions for implementing the Kellogg-Briand Pact, in order to make it more effective, a full program would be given for international collaboration of the peace forces.

THE PEACE POLICY

In its Legislative Letter, "On Neutrality Legislation," the Party has indicated the lines of a peace policy. These are:

1. Require that the President shall take notice when any nation signatory to the Kellogg Pact shall violate the provisions of that Pact by making war, whether officially declared or not; and shall call it to the attention of Congress;

2. That when the violation of this treaty with the United States is established, an embargo shall be placed against all economic transactions with the guilty power until the aggression is stopped and reparations made;

3. That any government, not itself an aggressor in violation of the Kellogg Pact, but suffering from an attack by enemies from within or without, shall not be hindered in its continuance or normal commercial relations with the United States;

4. That a violator of the Kellogg Pact shall be considered to be that state which is the first to declare war upon another state; which uses its armed land, naval or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, to invade the territory, or to attack the vessels, or to blockade the ports of another state;

5. That a state should also be considered an aggressor, in violation of the Kellogg Pact when it gives support to armed parties or factions engaged in insurrection against the democratically established government of another nation;

6. That in accordance with principles laid down in the Buenos Aires Conference, the United States consult with other countries in case of war or the imminent danger of war.

Upon such a policy the broadest peace movement can be built.

All efforts must be directed towards uniting the peace movement of the American people with the world movement against the war-instigators —German and Italian fascism and the Japanese militarists—and for the creation of a united front of democratic states against the fascist aggressors. The Communist Party will utilize every event in the world situation, especially fascist intervention in Spain and Japanese intervention in the Far East, to prove to the masses the true nature of the neutrality policy as an aid to the policies of the warmongers, as one which hastens war and brings it to the very gates of America, driving the United States together with the rest of the world to a new world war.

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The campaign for Spain is the most important integral part of the peace movement. In this connection, it is necessary to fight not only for lifting the embargo upon the Spanish republic and to impose it against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy but also to exert pressure on the government and to mobilize public opinion for the demand that the fascist interventionists be ousted from Spain and that the activities of the fascist agents in America be suppressed.

In the peace movement, it is necsary to take into consideration the existing sentiments against the League of Nations. At the same time, it is necessary to explain that the present League is not quite the same as it was some years ago, that the present League can and must be used for the cause of peace and democracy.

In the realization of this policy, it is of foremost importance to widen and strengthen the American League Against War and Fascism. Underestimation of this task is a serious error. The American League Against War and Fascism is already a significant factor and advanced force in the peace movement and can be made to exercise a great influence in the unification and building up of the broad peace movement along the above lines.

IV. BUILDING THE PARTY AND THE DAILY WORKER

A most serious situation exists with regard to the slow growth of the Party (present membership a little over 40,000) and of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. This situation becomes particularly alarming because it arises in a period of greatest activity of the workers, in a period of growing influence and responsibility of the Party as a result of its highly successful activities.

A frank recognition of this intolerable situation is the first condition for remedying it. The Party had elaborated certain measures for this purpose. This was done especially by the Ninth National Convention, by the December (1936) Plenum of the Central Committee, and summed up and elaborated by the special Party Conference in February (1937). With favorable conditions among the masses, with the Party already equipped with adequate policies, the answer to this serious condition must therefore be found, first of all, in the fact that the Party leadership and the Party organizations do not give adequate, systematic and constant attention to these tasks. This indicates the need for a general review of the organizational condition and methods of the Party.

The objective situation is highly favorable for the building of the Communist Party into a mass party. It is un-Marxian, and totally false to assert that the improvement in the general economic situation is an obstacle to the Party's growth. Aside from the highly uneven character of the present recovery, within the general upward course, and the accumulation of factors making for crisis, the fundamental feature of the present situation that creates favorable conditions for the Party's growth is the unparalleled activity of the working class and of the masses generally on the economic and political fields. This is evidenced also by the spread

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of Communist influence and position in the mass movements and by the demonstrated readiness of the advanced elements to join our Party and read our press when Communists make systematic efforts to bring them into the Party and to extend the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

Every Party member, and every Party organization, is called upon to display initiative and activity in this general review of our organizational conditions and methods of Party building. Concretely and specifically, on the basis of our daily experiences, we should review the following main points:

1. How do we build the Party and *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* (recruiting and circulation) in the course of the great mass struggles such as in auto and steel?

2. How do Communist workers in mass organizations promote Party recruiting and *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* circulation?

3. What independent activities are Party organizations carrying on to support and stimulate the daily struggles of the masses and their mass organizations and to raise the political and class consciousness of the masses in the course of these struggles?

4. How do we carry on propaganda on the special role of the Party in the mass movements and on the special class tasks of the proletariat in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship and for socialism?

5. What specifically is being done to enliven the political life of the Party units, to raise the ideological level of the membership, to overcome the underestimation of Marxist-Leninist theory?

6. How do we train leading personnel, especially leaders for our units, and promote new forces to active and leading work?

Without a thorough solution of these problems, in which every Party member must actively participate, the Party cannot move forward and perform the growing tasks with which it is faced.

Because the present situation is one of greatly increased political activity of broad masses and profound shifts in the working class; because the Party is broadening further its tactics and activities in various and heterogeneous mass movements; and because the Party up till now is still lagging behind in the proper strengthening of its own organizations; therefore the Party faces today special and most important tasks of building itself and of extending the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

The task of recruiting new Party members and extending the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* cannot be considered merely a campaign for a few weeks or any limited period. In each phase of all its political work in all mass movements and campaigns, in organic connection with them and as a most important part of all these activities, the Party must recruit new members and extend the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. There can be no excuse for failure to fulfil these tasks in the present situation.

The Central Committee calls upon

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all Party organizations immediately to organize a thorough discussion, on the basis of the specific situation of each district and locality, on how to strengthen Party recruiting, overcome fluctuations and extend the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. This should serve to raise the consciousness and initiative of the Party members in solving the task of building the Party. Without the most systematic and uninterrupted work of every member of the Party, these tasks cannot be fulfilled, as is necessary, solidly and on a large scale. This is connected also with the burning need of winning more and more recognition and legality for the Party in all mass organizations and, first of all, in the trade unions.

The strengthening of the Party and the building of its organizations, especially the basic Party units, require the carrying out of a number of main measures. We must further strengthen inner Party democracy which will greatly help to raise the initiative and activity of the lower organizations, to stimulate the promotion of healthy self-criticism, and to bring forward reliable, trusted and capable comrades to leading work.

With the greatest care and thoroughness, we should study, popularize and learn the lessons of the last historic plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the report of Comrade Stalin at that plenum, as these have great importance for the building of our Party. The task of mastering Bolshevism has the greatest significance for our Party at the present stage.

OUR MAIN TASKS

This requires the exertion of much greater efforts than heretofore, for:

A. The political education of the Party's leading personnel;

B. Raising the ideological level of the Party;

C. Overcoming the underestimation of Marxist-Leninist theory;

D. More active and extensive work of Party schools and the bringing of every section of the Party into a complete system of Party education;

E. Modern methods of propaganda and political education and a closer linking up of theory and practice in the programs of Party schools;

F. Increasing the theoretical work of the Party;

G. Popularizing Marxism-Leninism;

H. Treatment of theoretical questions by the *Daily Worker* from time to time and, first of all, by *The Communist*.

In all this work, we should concentrate our attention on the main industrial centers to recruit and develop leading personnel in such decisive movements as the trade unions, and to extend the Party organization to hundreds of small industrial towns as yet untouched by our Party organization.

In all this work, we should constantly have as our guiding aim the building of a strong, capable mass Communist Party, a party able to cope with the tasks which we—the working class, struggling in the most powerful capitalist country, and the people with their long record of revolutionary and progressive struggles—are facing in the present period of our history.

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RALLY THE PEOPLE AGAINST VIGILANTISM AND REACTION

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

THE economic royalists are on the warpath.

To nullify the people's mandate of November 3 and prepare the road to power for themselves the reactionaries are concentrating on two main lines of attack. By violence, murder, deceit and demagogy they seek to check the advance of labor to trade union organization and political independence. And by all sorts of underhanded methods they are trying to prevent at all costs the reform of the Supreme Court.

To achieve these reactionary aims the economic royalists have singled out the C.I.O. and President Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan as the main objects of attack. Wall Street reaction wants to destroy both the C.I.O. and President Roosevelt. And for this purpose it has opened up an unparalleled barrage of demagogy concerning a "labor dictatorship" a "Lewis dictatorship," a "Roosevelt dictatorship."

This demagogy is especially designed to frighten and incite the middle classes and the farmers. The rise of vigilantism, organized and armed by the Girdlers and Fords, is only the most extreme manifestation of the fact that certain groups of the middle classes are succumbing to fascist demagogy.

The game of the reactionary and fascist camp is clear: Force President Roosevelt to break with labor, starting with the C.I.O., and the destruction of the President will be more than half accomplished. Force Lewis, at the same time, to break with the Left-wing membership in the C.I.O., and the basis will be laid for the emasculation and eventual destruction of the C.I.O. also.

Any weakening in the face of this barrage helps the reactionaries to win their criminal game.

The danger of such periodic weakenings, under reactionary pressure, on the part of the Roosevelt administration has always existed. This danger flows inevitably from the President's so-called middle course which is conditioned by its capitalist class character. In recent days, signs have appeared which have given rise to questions as to whether or not the Roosevelt administration was beginning to weaken again.

Such signs were seen in the apparent unwillingness of the President to enforce drastically the Wagner law against the Girdlers and to protect the rights of labor and the lives of the workers in the steel strike; instead his cryptic statement against the extrem-

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ists on "both" sides; Secretary Perkins' statement against sit-down strikes; Governor Murphy's support of the Michigan Labor Relations Act, which curtails seriously labor's rights, and his speech attacking "Communist cliques" while flirting with the fascist vigilante bands instead of disbanding and disarming them; Governor Earle's attack upon so-called labor extremists in the C.I.O., especially the Communists; Senator Wagner's speech before Tammany Hall attacking fascism "and Communism."

These are disturbing signs. If not counteracted by a widening and consolidation of the camp of progress, more pronounced tendencies of the same dangerous character may appear. The recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the report* to that meeting of Earl Browder, general secretary of the Party, indicated the lines along which this widening and consolidation of the progressive forces need to develop. The situation calls for genuine working class statesmanship on the part of progressive labor and its leaders.

There is no doubt about the fact that the Roosevelt administration has difficulties. The rebellion of the reactionary Democrats, who, in collusion with the Republicans, are doing the work of the Liberty League, is one of them. And the fascist incitement among the middle classes of town and country against labor, against the C.I.O., against Roosevelt, has also made some headway.

How can this situation be met?

The Roosevelt administration has at its disposal a practical policy to deal with these difficulties.

First, protect the interests of the middle classes and of the toiling farmers. Revise the taxation structure in the interests of these classes. Curb effectively the monopolies. Grant honestly and adequately the demands of the toiling farmers in the matter of land, taxes, credit, prices, and do it quickly.

Stop playing around with the housing question and pass an adequate housing law. Stop cutting relief and pay more attention to the needs of the unemployed. Protect effectively the small business man from the depredations of big business and the monopolies.

Do it *now*. Do it quickly and honestly. Do it at the expense of those who can pay, the rich, and not at the expense of the poor. This and this alone will defeat the fascist demagogy among the middle classes. This and this alone will defeat the efforts of the reactionaries to destroy President Roosevelt.

Governor Murphy may think he has found an easier way to put himself straight with the middle classes. He may think that by attacking the Communists, by helping to curtail labor's legitimate rights and by flirting with the vigilante bands he will regain the favor of the estranged middle class groups.

But he is sadly mistaken if he holds such beliefs. And if he persists in such beliefs and tactics, he will find out soon enough that while he may succeed in estranging labor and all progressive elements, he has helped the fascists (not himself) to tighten their

* Earl Browder, *The Communists in the People's Front*, Workers Library Publishers, New York. 10 cents.

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stranglehold upon the middle class groups which he apparently wants to win.

The same is true of every other member of the Roosevelt administration, whether in state or federal government.

Second, use all the powers of government to protect fully and honestly the civil rights and liberties of labor and punish the violators of these rights. Disband and disarm all vigilante bands at once. Disarm the moguls of corporate industry. Make absolutely sure that no worker can with impunity be gassed, clubbed and murdered at the behest of the Girdlers. Enforce the Wagner law.

Do not, under any circumstances, give in to the demands of the economic royalists for fascist legislation against the unions, legislation that seeks to curtail the right to strike, picket and organize. Mobilize the people and compel the passage of the Supreme Court reform bill.

Third, the Roosevelt administration is vitally interested in preventing a break with labor. If the President ever allows such a break, his policies will by this very token be defeated and his administration destroyed.

Most important is what labor itself can do in the present situation—the C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the progressive forces in the A. F. of L.

The resolution of the June meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Browder's report indicate clearly what labor's policy should be in the present situation.

John L. Lewis has correctly said that "today the C.I.O. stands as a bulwark for democracy," that "this natural and spontaneous movement represents the epitome of Americanism at its best," and that "it is American to the core."

What John L. Lewis has not said is that the Communists are the devoted and consistent champions of the principles of the C.I.O., of the interests of the working class, and of the democratic aspirations of the American people.

Realizing these truths, labor will best meet the present situation and all temporary difficulties by proceeding forward in the organization of the unorganized, by concentrating all forces for the winning of the strike in steel, and by wholeheartedly working for the realization of the program and principles of the C.I.O.

This is obviously task number one.

Second, the C.I.O. and the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. will have to develop more intensive activities for the realization of labor unity, for the establishment of one trade union federation in the country.

Capitalist reaction, assisted by William Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., is deriving great comfort from the division in the ranks of labor. It is exploiting this fact not alone to hamper the struggle of the workers for a better life, but also to arouse the middle classes against labor. It follows from this that, hand in hand with the building of the C.I.O. unions, the progressive labor forces must work most actively for winning the unions of the A. F. of L. to the principles of the C.I.O. and to the cause of genuine labor unity.

Third, better and more correct re-

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lations should at once be established between labor and the middle classes. We want to emphasize: *Direct relations.* The C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, which include many progressives in the A. F. of L., stand committed to a program of collaboration with the middle classes of city and country.

This is the time to begin such collaboration systematically.

John L. Lewis has said:

"I also believe the fundamental interests of labor and farmers are interlocked and that they should work together for common democratic and economic objectives."

Now is the time to make this idea a living thing. The most effective answer to the fascist incitement among the farmers and middle classes is for the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League directly to approach these groups with Lewis' proposal to "work together for common democratic and economic objectives."

Conferences should be called in every locality of labor, farm and middle-class groups to demand the disarming and disbanding of the vigilante gangs and the protection of the civil liberties of the people.

Fourth, on the basis of collaboration with the farmers and middle classes, labor should prepare for the coming municipal elections in the more important communities, and for the Congressional elections in 1938.

Depending on the concrete local situation, this independent political action may take the form of Farmer-Labor parties, or independent progressive people's tickets, or organized and independent support for progressive candidates of the Democratic Party. It may be also a combination of two or all three of these forms. The point is that these questions have already become actual. They should be discussed by labor and plans worked out.

Fifth, all possible support to encourage and strengthen the progressive forces in the Democratic Party. Reaction seeks today, from within and without, to destroy or capture the Democratic Party as the only way to destroy the Roosevelt administration. Labor and its allies are vitally interested in defeating these machinations of reaction. This can be done by strengthening the progressive and People's Front forces in the Democratic Party and by promoting the independent activities of labor and its allies on the economic and political fields.

* * *

The Communists will work for all these aims and policies as an inseparable part of the working class, of the C.I.O. and of the liberty-loving American people. The Communists will do all in their power not to be separated from the progressive camp by the intrigues of the reactionaries. The progressives should similarly do all in their power not to be tricked into self-destruction by these reactionary intrigues against the Communists.

We declare with Earl Browder that "the effort to create a 'Communist issue' in the steel strike is false. There is no such issue. The Communists are wholeheartedly carrying out the policies of the C.I.O."

We further declare with Browder:

"Like the C.I.O. leaders, we Communists repudiate the use of violence, and brand Tom Girdler, his associates and stool-pigeons, as

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those who openly and secretly have thrown violence into this situation. . . . The Communists are ready to cooperate fully with all public and private agencies, without any reservation, for the orderly establishment of the rights guaranteed the steel workers by the Wagner Law, and in general for the protection of our democratic institutions and traditions."

Here it should be pointed out that the responsibility for strikes rests squarely on the shoulders of the employers.

"When American workers go on strike," said Comrade Browder at the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party in June, 1936, "it is not because Communists are stirring up trouble, but because in those places the forces of big business are denying these workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and denying it by force and violence. . . . To strike is a weapon of last resort, to which the workers turn only when the capitalists have blocked every other road of redress for their grievances." *

The members of the Communist Party should everywhere take the initiative in organizing the fight against vigilantism, in promoting the unity of labor with the farmers and small business and professional people, in stimulating the whole struggle against reaction on the economic and political fields.

To achieve these aims, more members are needed in the Communist Party, more readers of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* are essential. Building the Party and the circulation of our press is inseparable from the great tasks before us. It is, in fact, the key to the successful accomplishment of these tasks.

In reply to the conspiracies and attacks of the Tories, we raise higher the banner of our Party on which are inscribed the glorious slogans:

For the unity of the working class.

For the unity of the people against reaction and fascism.

For the People's Front and the Farmer-Labor Party.

For democracy, peace and socialism.

For a mass Bolshevik, Communist Party and for a mass Daily Worker—*the vanguard of the people's movement to liberty, progress, peace and prosperity.*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE U.S.A.
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,
Chairman.
EARL BROWDER,
General Secretary.

* Earl Browder, *Democracy or Fascism*, p. 46, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 5 cents.

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FOR A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE protection of the health of the great toiling masses is a political question of major importance. Its political character derives from the fact that the basic elements upon which the people's health depends are utilized by the capitalists for intense exploitation purposes, with consequent disastrous results upon the physical and mental conditions of the workers and other toilers. Thus, the health of the people is systematically undermined by low wages, slum housing, unsanitary and dangerous working conditions, lack of social security, adulterated food and drugs, inadequate and costly curative treatments, faulty educational systems, etc., all of which are very profitable to various capitalist interests but fatal to the workers. Capitalism not only robs the producing masses of the wealth they create, but destroys their health and very lives in the process.

Marx and Engels, in their various writings, pointed out the disastrous effects of capitalist exploitation upon the workers' physical condition. And since their time Socialists and liberals of all countries have voluminously stressed the same general fact. The archives of the United States teem with public documents portraying the widespread weakness, physical underdevelopment, and veritable holocaust of unnecessary sickness suffered by the American masses as a result of the unhealthy conditions set up by capitalist exploitation.

It is conservatively estimated that 2 per cent of the population are constantly suffering from illness serious enough to keep them from working. Of this number, 600,000 are constantly in hospitals; many more ought to be there. Army tests showed during the war that 47 per cent of those examined were physically defective and 21 per cent were unfit for military service. Tuberculosis—a preventable disease—claims 700,000 victims at any one time; hookworm — preventable — infects 7,000,000 people in our Southern States; syphilis and gonorrhea—both preventable—cause at least 300,000 deaths a year; smallpox — preventable—attacks from 30,000 to 100,000 each year; diphtheria—curable—kills over 8,000 children each year; 7,000 American women die annually from childbirth fever—a disease that is preventable; approximately a million American workers are exposed to the danger of silicosis in dusty trades because existing safety devices are not applied; disease and accidents are excessively prevalent throughout industry because adequate preventive and safety measures are not taken.

The preservation of the health of the people as a political question should, therefore, be the concern of the government. The workers and other toiling sections of the people

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need to develop a thoroughgoing program in protection of the health of themselves and their families and then put behind it the full force of their powerful economic, political, cultural and other mass organizations. Such a united front health movement would open up new phases and methods of struggle, would formulate new mass demands and would draw new broad masses into action against the exploiters; it would be a new and vigorous corps to add to the political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, youth movements, peace movements, and the other great sections of the growing People's Front forces. It is the political task of the Communist Party to give all possible aid in the development of a national health program and in the organization of the struggle in support of it.

There are some who claim that inasmuch as capitalist exploitation in itself deteriorates the workers' health, therefore nothing can be done about the matter until capitalism is abolished and socialism established. But this is a naive Leftism which, by weakening the struggle around questions of health, plays directly into the hands of capitalist reactionaries. While it is true that only under a socialist system will the people's health be fully protected (and this is graphically illustrated by the Russian Soviet experience), nevertheless, by insistent and intelligent mass struggle the toilers can accomplish very much even under capitalism in protecting their health.

In many capitalist countries, the governments, under pressure from the masses, have been compelled to recognize, in some degree at least, the necessity for political protection of the people's health and have set up national health departments with minimum health programs. It is in the land of socialism, however, the U.S.S.R., that this development has truly flourished. There the Soviet government, through its Commissariat of Health, assumes definite responsibility for the people's health and is carrying out an unprecedented series of measures to safeguard it.

The American government has long been most backward in protecting the masses' health, even as in all other phases of social legislation. Controlled by powerful capitalist forces that vastly profit from all sorts of health-killing practices, the government, municipal, state, and federal, has been stubbornly resistant to all efforts aiming at systematic mass health cultivation. Aside from some sketchy pure food and drugs legislation, won from it by long years of struggle, the government has done practically nothing constructive. The health problem has been thrust back upon the people themselves, and left to the tender mercies of innumerable capitalist sharks who undermine the health of the masses by their vicious exploitation.

But now a change is occurring in this barbarous situation. There is taking shape a great and growing demand for a federal health program to guard the people's physical welfare. For many years progressive doctors and laymen have been fruitlessly demanding such a program; but now the movement takes on a powerful mass character. The ice is beginning to crack. The great masses of the toilers, as part of their new and determined insistence upon social security, are also

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beginning to demand the right to health. They are insisting that the federal government concern itself with correcting the outrageous situation regarding the people's health. The most striking recent manifestations of this growing movement were the proposals of the New York delegation at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Medical Association for a national department of health, and the demands of the dentists at their convention in July for a dental program for the masses. The speech of Senator Lewis, at the American Medical Association convention, gave a strong indication that the Roosevelt administration cannot remain indifferent to this urgent public need.

WHAT KIND OF A HEALTH PROGRAM?

The matter of the government concerning itself with the people's health has now advanced so far that it has become a live political question as to just what kind of a national health program is necessary. In view of the fact already indicated that great capitalist interests profit heavily by practices that ruin the masses' health, we must expect the strong opposition of these elements to any effective health measures. The landlords who grow rich through inadequate and unhealthful housing at high rentals, the industrialists who save money by refusing to install safety devices, the food adulterators, the drug interests that fatten on the sale of proprietary medicines, the medical bureaucracy that has a stake in maintaining the status quo will do all possible to prevent the realization of such a program. We would, therefore, be naive to think that the government, without further ado, will proceed to the elaboration of a satisfactory health policy. That can come only after much struggle.

If the reactionary forces cannot block altogether the development of a national health program then they will try so to narrow it down in scope as to make it of little value to the working masses. Already the latter tendency is forecast in the New York American Medical Association proposals that the projected federal Department of Health be little else than a sort of medical bureau, controlled by doctors and occupying itself only with questions of medical care.

Now this arrangement would be very fine for the medical bureaucracy; but it would by no means satisfy even the most elementary health needs of the masses. A true national health program must find its center in the prevention of sickness, not simply in curing the sick. It must be founded on those basic measures that will build up the health of the people from childhood on and that will shield them from sickness. Curative measures for the sick, it goes without saying, are fundamental in a national health program, but the main stress must be on the creation of a strong people, resistant to disease and living in an environment conducive to health.

Our fight, therefore, must be not only for a national department of health, coordinating and leading state departments of health, but also for a broad health program that will really improve the physical status of the masses. It must include all the major factors that have to do with the people's health. The following propositions do not constitute a rounded-out national health program—such a pro-

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gram must be systematically built up by experts in the various fields—but they do indicate the broad lines upon which a program of health for the people should be built.

A. Wages: Decisive in the workers' health are their living standards, and here the wage question is fundamental. Necessary, therefore, are legal minimum wage rates providing for living standards of health and comfort. The Labor Research Association has published (December 1936) elborate data, based on United States figures, that would serve as a basis for minimum wage rates.

B. Food: Under present-day conditions the people's health is undermined, not only by insufficient food, but also by food that is drugged, adulterated, and denatured. Vastly strengthened pure food and drug laws are therefore urgently necessary. More systematic nutritional studies of the people's diet should also be undertaken (including agricultural areas) to expose conditions of mass undernourishment. The Tugwell Bill, shelved in the last Congress by reactionary interests, was a step in the right direction.

C. Homes: Wretched housing conditions are ruining the health of millions of people constantly. Hence, a slum clearance, low-rent housing program must be a basic plank in any serious national health program; housing questions which are now urgently in need of solution: pure water supplies, sanitary sewage disposal, proper and adequate toilet facilities, elimination of over-crowding, provision for proper ventilation and light, the doing away with dilapidation which causes accidents, proper screening of windows, rat-proofing, correction of excessive dampness, safety provisions against fire hazards, etc. The Wagner-Steagall Bill was a start at attacking these evils.

D. Work: Millions of workers daily face conditions in industry that are disastrous to their health. Our health program must, therefore, aim at the elimination of occupational diseases, establishment of proper safety appliances, air conditioning of factories subject to unusual temperatures, abolition of excessive speed-up, etc.

E. Rest and Recreation: The workers' health is systematically broken down by overwork. Necessary, in consequence, are: abolition of child labor, establishment of the 30-hour workweek, two weeks' yearly vacation with pay (four weeks in health injurious industries), development of more city parks, an elaborate system of summer camps for children and youth and adult workers, development of workers' tourism, etc.

F. Security: Worry about the insecurity of their economic future is a tremendous factor in undermining the health of the masses. Therefore, an adequate system of social insurance—sickness, accident, old-age, unemployment, etc.—must be established, if the workers' health is to be conserved. Existing social security legislation should be broadened so that it comes more in line with the provisions of the defunct Frazier-Lundeen Bill.

G. Education: A vast work of health-building must be done within the sphere of education in order to adapt the people to live in the present-day artificial environment. This educational work, while involving adults, must be directed first

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of all to the youth. Among the more important measures necessary and now neglected or totally ignored are: systematic instruction in sex hygiene and mental hygiene; cultivation on a broad basis of the physical culture and sports movements; exposure of all forms of fraud and quackery which are detrimental to the people's health.

H. Curative: Only a small fraction of the people are now able to secure adequate care in the event of sickness. The rest suffer and die in misery, virtually unattended. Therefore, a basic feature of the national health program must be the systematic extension of curative care to the masses, based on compulsory national health insurance. The people must be given the full advantage of every scientific means for the relief of sickness. To this and the following are some of the more important measures necessary:

A vast extension of the system of hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, nursing houses, creches, etc. (including the rural areas), equipped with all effective systems of healing and with adequate staffs paid by the government.

Free medical and dental care to all of the lower income groups.

Free periodic physical examinations of the masses in infancy, in schools, in workshops, and on the farms.

Cultivation of research into all fields of medicine, physio-therapy and nutrition, etc., with government subsidies for medical education of doctors and other health workers which will enable them to keep up with the latest developments in their field.

The national health department should base itself on a broad mass health cultivation program such as the foregoing, and not merely upon a curative policy, important though the latter may be. The department's stated functions should cover as many as possible of the above-mentioned general measures. To put such a health program into effect many separate pieces of legislation and various governmental departments would be involved. The federal health department should have as its base similar health departments in the various states and localities. Such a broad health service should, of course, be managed by physicians and other health workers in conjunction with representatives of people's organizations. The financing of the national health program should be provided for by taxing the rich, the elements who live by undermining the health of the people.

A BROAD HEALTH MOVEMENT

There is a wide mass sentiment to serve as the basis for a strong people's health movement. This evidences itself in many ways and organizations. For one thing, there is a terrific pressure within the orthodox medical profession itself from the masses for a more effective health program. Also many organizations—economic, political, cultural, and social—interest themselves to a greater or lesser degree in health questions. Then there are a whole series of "nature cure" movements of various sorts, which are in revolt against orthodox medicine. These so-called health cults are numerically strong. They have large numbers of clubs, schools, gymnasia, institutes, stores, restaurants, books, journals, etc. This health movement goes in strongly for radio programs, in New York alone there being several daily

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broadcasts on physical culture, pure food, dietary systems, etc., and there is hardly an important city in the country that has not one or more similar regular broadcasts. Their members and followers run into millions. All of which goes to show (1) that the masses feel the health question to be a serious problem, and (2) that they are deeply discontented at the present systems of health protection and cure.

The labor movement has in the past grossly neglected the whole matter of the people's health. True, the trade unions, by their fight for better wages and working conditions, have worked for the health of the masses. They have also displayed considerable activity in the fight against occupational diseases and slum conditions. But they have by no means taken up the health problem as a whole or made a concerted effort to relieve it.

The Socialist Party, in the days when it counted for considerable in the labor movement, also never realized the importance of the question of the masses' health. The Socialist Party did not see it as a political question, but was inclined to consider as "nuts" those laymen who interested themselves in health matters. The general result of such neglect by the trade unions and the Socialist Party, continued for many years, was, among other adverse developments, that such important health developments as workers' sports passed into the hands of the employers and conservative organizations, while the big physical culture movement fell under the control of the fascist-minded Bernarr MacFadden.

The Communist Party, with these bad traditions of the trade unions and the Socialist Party as its heritage on the peoples' health question, has also grievously neglected the whole matter. Its efforts in this general direction have been at best very sketchy and spasmodic. Ten years ago the Party actively supported the Workers' Health Bureau of America, an organization supported by the trade unions and headed by Grace Burnham, Harriet Silverman and Charlotte Todes. This body was formed to fight occupational diseases; it had a strong labor union following and led the best work ever done by trade unions on the health question. But is was allowed to die, chiefly from lack of appreciation of its importance. The Party is now giving its support to the progressive body of doctors who constitute the Medical Advisory Board of the *Daily Worker*. This group is doing much good work, but it has limited itself principally to a curative approach to the health problem, which is not adequate to comprise a national health program. The Party and Y.C.L. by their growing interest in workers' sports in recent years are also putting a foot on one of the important paths of mass health cultivation.

From the foregoing it is clear that although the Communist Party has not entirely ignored the question of the people's health, its efforts, nevertheless, have been altogether too scattering and haphazard. What is needed is that the Party acquire a keen realization of the political importance of the health question and then set out to do something effective about it. The French Communist Party has a much better appreciation of the political importance of the masses' health than has our Party. In the municipalities con-

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trolled by Communist officials in the Paris area there has been initiated a whole series of health protection measures and in the recent election campaign, one of the major French Party slogans was "Defend the Workers' Bread and Health."

There is the basis at hand for a broad united people's health movement. Into such a movement can be drawn trade unions, fraternal organizations, physicians' groups, pure food movements, athletic associations, youth clubs, nature club groups, physical culture movements, women's clubs, etc. Although these groups may differ widely in their conception and activities, they can be united around such elementary health issues as I have outlined above. A people's health movement of this character would be necessarily loose and somewhat diffused, and not a compact organization like a trade union. And its policy, likewise, could not be a hard and fast one. It would not be a case of fighting everywhere for a single document or program, but rather one of a fight on many fronts, in many organizations, on many individual measures and with many forms of struggle, stimulated by a flexible and intelligent center nationally. The probable shaping up of a health department and a national health program by the federal government can be made a strong rallying issue for a people's health movement.

The Communist Party should display initiative and leadership on this whole matter. It should take steps to set up a fraction of physicians, dentists, physical culturists, nutritionists, physio-therapists, etc., as well as members of the trade unions, fraternal organizations, women's and youth organizations, and other elements interested in health problems. This group should begin to develop nationally a people's health program and a united front movement to support it.

Recent political developments both in Congress and in the general agitation in the newspapers have clearly shown that health and social security legislation will be one of the main arenas of political struggle during the next few years. Having been defeated in the election campaign, the Liberty Leaguers are now attempting to nullify their election defeat by preventing the enactment of further social legislation as well as by emasculating existing legislation for working conditions, health and social security. It is therefore necessary that we do not lag behind in order that the people's victory in the campaign shall not be nullified.

A broad people's health movement, drawing into its ranks such variegated elements, would have political implications much wider than the health question. First, because it would extend and intensify the political bonds between the workers and huge masses of farmers and city petty bourgeoisie, who are also profoundly interested in the health question, and, second, because such a movement would be naturally sympathetic towards the workers' fight for better conditions; it would surely support progressive tendencies generally and would be a fertile field for anti-fascist, anti-war sentiment. A united front national health movement would serve greatly to strengthen the developing People's Front in many fields of struggle. It is an important task of the Communist Party to help in the organization of such a national health movement.

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EXTENDING THE UNITY OF THE UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT

BY HERBERT BENJAMIN

THE DRIVE AGAINST RELIEF

THE anticipated drive of the reactionaries to liquidate the federal relief work program has materialized and is now in full swing. In terms of legislation, this drive has already been successful. Under the pressure of the reactionaries, President Roosevelt proposed and Congress adopted a wholly inadequate Relief Appropriation Bill which represents a long step towards the complete dismantling of the W.P.A. Following as it does upon previous action by the federal government to "quit this business of relief," this action if allowed to stand will drive the millions of unemployed further back into the position in which they found themselves during the dismal days of the detested Herbert Hoover.

President Roosevelt denies that this is his purpose. On the contrary, in a statement which he issued only a few days before he presented his request to Congress for a $1,500,000,000 relief appropriation, Roosevelt declared that he still holds to the position which he took in his famous Madison Square Garden speech where he declared that "for these things [relief for the unemployed, for the farmers, higher wages and greater purchasing power for the workers, etc.] we have just begun to fight."

But Roosevelt also prides himself on being very sensitive to "public opinion." And public opinion, as manufactured and expressed by the very same tory press which clamored for the election of Landon, has since the election directed an equal amount of clamor to the demand for Landon's economy program. Specifically, the reactionary press has with even greater skill than it employed during the election campaign built up an argument in favor of economy by curtailment of relief expenditures.

The argument was varied in form and was fortified by an even greater variety of supporting "facts" and description. But the substance of the argument, simultaneously presented by practically the entire press (including most of the papers that supported Roosevelt during the election campaign), was that "Recovery is here —there is therefore no longer any need for relief and no excuse for such relief expenditures as were made during the earlier years of the New Deal."

For the moment—at least—Roosevelt has decided that unemployment

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is an indictment of his administration and as such must be concealed and denied. In his long-awaited message on relief, he devoted exactly one line to a recommendation on relief. The message instead was devoted to an appeal for "economy" and to a sharp attack against "pressure groups" who demand that the government spend money for the unemployed, for the farmers, for flood control, for housing and other badly needed social provisions and improvements.

The reactionaries of both the Democratic as well as the Republican parties were not slow in seizing upon and pressing their victory. In order to minimize the concession which Roosevelt had already made and to exploit it for further concessions, they immediately launched a campaign to reduce the already miserably inadequate appropriation by one-third. In conformity with the present strategy of the reactionaries, the Republicans kept themselves in the background and gave the leadership of the fight to their Democratic colleagues. In the fight which ensued on the floor of Congress, the reactionary coalition was crystallized and the Democrats, Woodrum of Virginia, McReynolds of Tennessee, Lanham of Texas and Fuller of Arkansas proved themselves as able and dependable representatives of reaction as the Republicans Snell and Taber of New York, and Hoffman of Michigan.

Although the effort to make a direct cut in the appropriation was finally defeated, the reactionaries achieved their object by other means. First, they helped defeat the attempt of the Farmer-Laborites, progressives and liberal Democrats to increase the appropriation. Moreover they secured the adoption of a number of amendments which accomplish the same object as they sought to accomplish by reducing the appropriation. In fact Representative Woodrum frankly stated that his amendment, which requires that the amount appropriated for W.P.A. be so apportioned and so expended as to last for a twelve-month period, is more important than was his proposal to cut the appropriation to $1,000,000,000. This is indeed true. The infamous "Woodrum Amendment" is intended to forestall a deficiency appropriation by the next session of Congress. Without this amendment, it would be possible to compel the W.P.A. administration to maintain the program at least on the present employment level. It could then come to the next session of Congress as was done in previous years and explain that a further (deficiency) appropriation is needed to keep the program going during the remainder of the fiscal year. But the present provision of the Act makes immediate lay-offs almost mandatory.

Other amendments which passed or received a large vote are equally indicative of the power which reaction welds in Congress despite the mandate of last November. One, presented by the arch-reactionary from Texas, Representative Lenham, entirely excludes foreign-born workers from the benefits of the W.P.A. program. Another by the infamous Ham Fish of New York penalizes non-veterans. One, which was barely defeated by a stubborn fight of the combined progressive forces in the House,

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was introduced by the Bourbon Congressman Fuller of Arkansas. This amendment would have made it a crime for any W.P.A. worker to "engage in a demonstration or strike, or to advocate or support a demonstration or strike"!

Roosevelt's proposal for a scandalously inadequate appropriation and his plea for economy by curtailing socially necessary expenditures represented another of his many retreats before reactionary pressure. And the debate and final action of Congress confirmed the fact that reaction cannot be placated with such concessions but is only encouraged to fight more boldly and viciously against the needs of the people. The net result is that 427,000 W.P.A. workers have been fired and deprived of their sole means of subsistence and that an additional 300,000 are to be fired by the middle of October.

Unless an aroused labor and progressive movement unites with the unemployed and W.P.A. workers to defeat these lay-offs and to secure the reinstatement of those already laid off, the Federal Works Program will have been reduced by more than one-third within a period of three months. Thus the liquidation of federal relief activities which is one of the principal aims of reaction will be brought closer.

The immediate alternative to the Federal Work Relief Program is local and state direct relief. This means that several million families will be reduced from existence on a less than subsistence wage to a starvation relief dole. Since relief standards have been steadily deteriorating since the federal government abandoned all direct relief, and since the states, counties and towns are steadily reducing standards and ruthlessly cutting off hundreds of families altogether on the ground that they have no means of financing relief, it will not be long before we will have returned to the bread-lines, soup-kitchens, flop-houses and Hoovervilles which made the administration of Hoover a never-to-be-forgotten crime against the American people.

Already, newspapers are reporting suicides and attempted suicides by desperate workers who find themselves jobless, destitute and without hope of an opportunity to work and earn. Already a wave of evictions is again sweeping over many families that heretofore managed to maintain at least the semblance of a home in slum areas and tenements.

But this is not all that the papers report. There is another side which the press, despite its efforts to minimize and ignore, must nevertheless report. Bitter, militant struggles, strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations of large masses of determined workers are taking place in cities and towns from one end of the country to the other. These struggles, organized by the Workers Alliance, are already proving effective. The unemployed and W.P.A. workers are not accepting the wholesale lay-offs as inevitable. They know that the reactionaries can be defeated. They know that Congress and the administration can be compelled to rescind the lay-offs. They know from their own past experience and from the victories recently achieved as a result of the or-

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ganizing campaigns and strikes conducted by the C.I.O. that they are not helpless. They know that they can be an active factor in determining the policy of the government if they organize and fight and if they enlist the active support of all labor and progressive forces.

CONVENTION CONSOLIDATES UNITY AND PREPARES FOR GREAT STRUGGLES

The Third Annual Convention of the Workers Alliance, the first convention of a truly united, nationwide organization of unemployed, was dominated by a sense of power and by a determination to use that power in a persistent, militant fight against every form of reaction.

This was the first convention since April of last year when the unemployed organizations of the entire country were merged into a single nationwide Alliance. Meeting after Congress had already adopted the inadequate 1938 Relief Act and when the wholesale lay-offs had already begun, the convention had first of all to determine how to meet this attack upon the unemployed. In deciding this, as all other questions, the Convention had however to first determine a general perspective and line of policy.

The success of the convention and the maturity of the organization were reflected above all in the sound, realistic evaluation of the economic and political situation in which the struggle against unemployment must be conducted. While recognizing the basic causes of unemployment and the fact that no final solution to this problem can be provided by a capitalist system, the organized unemployed have nevertheless as their immediate practical task to secure the maximum possible safeguards against, and relief from, the effects of mass unemployment. In this respect, the function of an unemployed organization is therefore very similar to the functions of a trade union. It must defend and seek to improve the immediate economic conditions of those whose interests it represents.

But even more than in the case of a trade union, the unemployed organization is directly and immediately concerned with general public policy. If reaction is in the saddle and dominates public policy and is in a position to enforce its policy by control of government apparatus, this is immediately reflected in the economic conditions of unemployed. It is therefore a matter of vital, immediate importance to the unemployed that the progressive forces of the country be united and strengthened so that they may be capable of exerting the greatest possible influence upon the policy of the government.

No one can give effective leadership to the unemployed who would fail to recognize and fight for a unification of the forces of progress in struggle against reaction.

The convention of the Workers Alliance after fourteen months of experience and struggle proved once again that the line and policy of the Communist Party corresponds wholly with the basic needs and interests of the masses and is therefore accepted and enthusiastically adopted by the masses regardless of present political affiliations.

Although the Communist-led Unemployed Council was allowed only

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seven places on an Executive Board of twenty-seven members, while the Socialists demanded and secured seventeen places, at the unification convention of 1936, this Executive Board presented and the 1937 convention enthusiastically adopted a report which was fully in line with the policy for a People's Front against which the Trotskyites and others influenced by them fulminate.

This line was clearly and forcefully expressed in the keynote speech to the convention in the following words:

"Among the rulers of this nation the forces of class interest are definitely overstepping party boundaries . . . the new alliance of reaction is a most ominous development.

"Opposing this unholy alliance, however, are encouraging signs of a growing political consciousness on the part of labor. The formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party of New York . . . the growth and influence of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation of Wisconsin have made for important gains for the mass of the people of these states and are *showing the people generally how to defeat reaction.* The growth of the Commonwealth Political Federation of Washington, the start of the Oregon Commonwealth Federation, are stirrings in the political consciousness of the people who are proving that *in order to protect and advance their rights they can make a united front of progress to oppose a united front of reaction.*

" 'Toward a Farmer-Labor Party' must be our slogan. And until one is built in every state and nationwide, *we must forge a united political front of all elements who will sincerely fight for our elementary rights and against united reaction.*"

Pained as they were by these words and by the almost unanimous manifestation of approval with which the convention accepted these statements, the Trotskyites and their recent converts in the Socialist Party were even more chagrined because they could not and did not dare to take issue with this position within the Convention of an organization in which the Socialist Party has exercised leadership. Nor could they claim that they were unable to express their position because of a "Communist-controlled" convention "steam-roller." On the contrary, their silence and mortification were due to the fact that the most able Socialist unemployed leader was in the chair throughout the convention and that it was he, a Socialist, and not a "Moscow-controlled Stalinist" who presented this clear and forceful explanation of the need for a broad People's Front for progress, against reaction!

Since the convention, the *Socialist Call* (July 10) has attempted to explain away the defeat of its sectarian-Trotskyist line in an article under a triple-decked, scare-headline that "Communists Force Line Down Throat of Jobless Union." According to the Trotskyites who have gained control of the *Socialist Call,* the Workers Alliance is being wrecked because the Communists try "to carry over into an economic organization of the jobless a large part of its [the Communist Party's] political line."

Such an explanation is much easier and more comforting than a serious analysis in an effort to determine why the nearly five hundred delegates and fraternal delegates to this convention were practically unanimous in accepting the *unanimous* reports of committees which in all cases included a substantial number of Socialists and

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a minority of Communists.

But the writer of this irresponsible and dishonest report unwittingly explains the reason why the line of the Communist Party prevailed in the Workers Alliance and why the masses generally reject the Trotskyist line of the *Call* and of the policies of those leaders of the Socialist Party who are influenced by the Trotskyites. He complains that:

"The Communist Party started cracking the whip in earnest when the Spanish resolution came to the floor. It was not enough to vote support to the Spanish government—it must be *enthusiastic* support to the People's Front government of Spain. The resolution *moreover,*" the brilliant writer of the *Call* complains, "called for pressure on the United States government to lift the embargo on shipments to loyalists and place an embargo on shipments to Italy and Germany, called for support of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Friends of the Lincoln Battalion and the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy." (All emphasis mine—H.B.)

The writer for the *Call* fails to explain which of these acts were most criminal in his oponion and which required the most whip-cracking. Presumably it was when the Communists insisted that it was "not enough to support the Spanish government" but that "it must be enthusiastic support." And presumably also, it was only b e c a u s e the Communists "cracked the whip" in earnest that they jammed enthusiasm down the throats of the Workers Alliance!

This is the tragic result of the combination of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and Norman Thomas confusionism.

We may as well recite at this point all the crimes of which the Communist Party and the Communists in the Workers Alliance are guilty according to the *Socialist Call.* They "continually harped on peace and democracy, apparently the only thing the Communist Party wants these days" (!) "Breaking with all past Alliance policy, the convention passed a resolution instructing the Alliance to cooperate with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party of New York and other groups. . . ." Moreover, "one delegate who wanted permission for Alliance delegates to support any candidate deemed favorable was voted down." (!) And crime of crimes, the convention "voted to support the National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress *which is black chauvinism* . . . and the American Youth Congress."

"In brief," the *Socialist Call* article finally concludes, "the Communist Party imposed practically its full line on the convention—'democracy vs. fascism,' for collective security . . .", and declares that "against this folly, Socialists in the Workers Alliance are determined to fight to the bitter end."

A VICTORY FOR THE UNITED FRONT

Fortunately, the Workers Alliance convention and its militant membership declined to follow to the bitter end to which the Socialist Party is being rapidly dragged by the Trotskyite wreckers and by the gyrations of Norman Thomas. On the contrary, the convention of the Workers Alliance

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demonstrated that it intends to continue to grow, to strengthen its contacts with the forces of progress and to join with these forces in the common struggle which must be waged against reaction.

We have quoted at great length from the *Socialist Call* not because it reflects a point of view of a substantial element within the unemployed movement but, on the contrary, to indicate why the unemployed along with all other militant workers and progressives are turning away with contempt from the policies which the Trotskyites have pressed into an official expression of the Socialist Party.

In fact Socialists as well as non-party workers and Communists who are engaged in the practical work and struggle of building the unemployed movement have arrived at a common conclusion and common line which rejects the sectarian, disruptive Trotskyite influence in the Socialist Party. And this is why this was a united convention in the fullest sense.

That is why the Trotskyists and their supporters within the Socialist Party were so thoroughly routed at the Workers Alliance convention. That is why every decision of the convention was adopted unanimously. That is why every officer and Board member was unanimously elected at this convention without contest. That is why the Trotskyites could not even muster enough strength to ask for a rising vote, much less a roll call. And that is why they had to confine themselves to convention-corridor whispering and post-convention slander. The victory at this convention was a victory for the policies which have been tried and proven successful. The fact that the Communist Party took the initiative in the struggle for these policies only proves again that our Party is truly fighting in the front ranks of the unemployed for their best interests. It was a victory for the policy of the united front which was responsible for the original unification of the unemployed movement. It was a splendid testimonial to the benefits that can be derived through unity on the basis of a sound policy. It was a victory for all who want to see and want to help build a powerful organization for the struggle against unemployment as part of the general struggle of the labor movement and of the people of this country. It is a victory pointing to the necessity of whole-hearted united action between the Socialist and the Communist Parties.

In addition to the resolutions and decisions already mentioned, the Workers Alliance adopted many more of profound importance to the unemployed and labor movement as a whole. Outstanding among these are:

1. The relation to the C.I.O. and to organized labor generally. Here the convention left no doubt as to where its sympathies and the sympathies of its membership lie. This was demonstrated by the ovation accorded to the telegram of greetings from John Brophy, director of the C.I.O. A similar ovation was given to the official representative of the C.I.O., Gunhar Michelson, who addressed the convention. The convention decided on a more practical demonstration of its sympathy by offering to send over one hundred of the delegates to Chicago to join the picket line at the plant of Re-

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public Steel, an offer which was enthusiastically accepted by Van Bittner for the S.W.O.C. and which was thereupon carried out.

More difficult of immediate realization however was the unanimous desire of the delegates to become formally affiliated to the C.I.O. This difficulty was explained in the report of the National Executive Board.

"Our hearts and our interests are with the C.I.O. and our organization must and will undertake the closest possible association with this great movement. . . . [But that] the peculiar characteristics of our movement as a movement of unemployed workers and of those employed on what is still regarded as a temporary program, our necessarily low dues, the nature of our day-to-day problems, etc., make for some practical difficulties which require time for consideration and study. Preoccupied as they are in other fields, the leaders of the C.I.O. have had no opportunity to give thought to the best means of including our organization within its folds."

Accepting this report, the convention decided to instruct the incoming National Executive Board to devise and present to the C.I.O. some concrete suggestions for establishing as speedily as possible the closest possible association through fraternal or other affiliation with the C.I.O.

At the same time, the convention decided that it will be the policy of the Workers Alliance to continue to support every struggle of workers for better conditions, "regardless of the banner under which such struggle may be waged." And while it assists in the effort to bring about a re-unification of the labor movement on a basis that will permit the continued organization of the unorganized into industrial and craft unions, Alliance locals will make efforts to affiliate fraternally to the central bodies of the A. F. of L. as well as of the C.I.O.

2. A decision which can be expected to have an important effect upon the future character and influence of the Alliance was one based on a recommendation of the National Executive Board for the establishment of a "social security" division. This division would be made up of branches for people who are or should be covered by the provisions of social-security legislation. Such organizations would not only represent their members before the various agencies that administer social insurance laws, but would conduct a systematic fight to improve existing laws with a view to finally enforcing the provisions of the Workers Social Insurance Bill.

Experience has shown the need for a membership organization that will concern itself with the everyday interests of those who become dependent upon social insurance even while striving to establish a genuine, comprehensive social insurance system. The disillusionment of the masses with the present social-security laws, and with such unsound movements as was formed around the Townsend Plan, proves the need for a sound organization that will operate on practical, constructive trade union lines, even while it seeks to advance towards an improved system of social insurance. The Workers Alliance is the logical sponsor and can be the most effective organizer of such a movement.

By these and many other actions, the Workers Alliance, in the first convention since unification, prepared itself for the big struggles that are already being conducted to repel the reaction-

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ary attack upon the unemployed.

In all its plans and decisions, the Workers Alliance showed an ever-present awareness of the fact that while it must be the initiator and organizer of the struggle, it must not limit itself merely to rallying the unemployed and W.P.A. workers. The problems of the unemployed are bound up in countless ways with the problems of all workers, farmers, middle-class and professional people. Success is possible only if all these sections of the population are enlisted for a common struggle against the reactionary forces who attack the unemployed in the course of and as part of the attack upon the needs, interests and rights of the people.

Immediately after the convention, the Alliance entered into an intensive and bitter struggle against the mass lay-offs which are being conducted by the Works Progress Administration in consequence of the reactionary provisions that were inserted in the 1938 Relief Act. While stressing that "more than half of the battle must be won at home" and that therefore the local struggles must be multiplied and intensified, the Alliance has already taken steps to win the "other half" of the battle, which must be conducted in Washington.

On the initiative and request of the Workers Alliance, a joint resolution has been introduced in both the United States Senate and House of Representatives which if passed can stop the lay-offs and compel the reinstatement of those already fired from their W.P.A. jobs. This resolution, introduced by the liberal Democrats, Senator Lewis Schwellenbach of Washington and Congressman Robert Allen of Pennsylvania, is brief and to the point. It provides that no one shall be dismissed from W.P.A. jobs who cannot find jobs in private industry at regular wages and at work for which he is reasonably fitted. This resolution puts the responsibility where it belongs, upon private industry, which is challenged either to provide jobs or accept the fact that the government shall.

All the immediate activities of the Alliance will be directed towards mobilizing a broad and vigorous movement that can compel enactment of this vital resolution. Laid-off workers are being urged to write their Congressmen and demand that these personally undertake to have W.P.A. reinstate them. Unions, individual workers, small merchants, public officials and others are being urged to send wires to their Congressmen and Senators demanding immediate enactment of the Schwellenbach-Allen Resolution.

At the same time, the Alliance is conducting special actions designed to expose the lying propaganda to the effect that "recovery is here—jobs are available—there is no need for relief." Mass job-hunts are being organized and conducted. Hundreds and in some cases thousands of workers are taken in a body to the local Chamber of Commerce, to the Manufacturers Association and to large plants and enterprises owned by the economic royalists who demand economy at the expense of the unemployed. These are being challenged to produce the jobs which they claim are available.

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It goes without saying that the reactionary business interests are unwilling to provide the jobs which they claim are so plentiful. But the result of these actions is to convince the general public that the unemployed want work and are jobless through no fault of their own.

A MASS JOB MARCH TO WASHINGTON

These and many other such activities and struggles are part of a campaign which will culminate in a *mass job march to Washington*. This march is expected to bring between seven and ten thousand workers to Washington on August 23. It will have many of the features of the national hunger marches of 1931-32. The participants will proceed on a schedule. They will stop over at various cities where they will join local demonstrations. *And they will come to Washington for an indefinite stay.* The official decision is that they shall stay until they have done everything possible to realize and achieve their objective—enactment of the Schwellenbach-Allen Resolution.

All indications point to a successful campaign and march. Resentment against the lay-offs is widespread and becomes more intense each day. Trade unionists know that the purpose of the reactionaries is to increase competition on the labor market and offset the gains made in the course of recent struggles. Farmers and merchants know that these lay-offs will further reduce purchasing power at a time when the gap between productive capacity and purchasing power widens and threatens an early recurrence of the crisis of 1929-33. Small home owners and tax-payers realize that liquidation of federal relief means increased tax burdens for local relief. State and local officials know that their relief funds are shrinking even faster than their ability to impose more taxes upon the overburdened masses. The unemployed who are now on relief know that increased local relief loads will mean that the present starvation doles will be even further reduced.

For these reasons, the national job march can expect broad support. This is why the Workers Alliance ventures to undertake such a huge effort within such a short period of time. It will require tireless day and night work for thousands of workers to carry through this campaign and the preparations for this great march within the few weeks of available time. But the effort can be productive and worthwhile. It is important to lose no time as Congress may adjourn any day.

But even if Congress should adjourn, the plan for the march will not be abandoned. In that event, the march will direct itself toward getting an Executive Order from the President to stop the lay-offs. This may be more difficult, but it is not impossible and the unemployed have learned to meet and overcome difficulties.

The unemployed along with all labor and progressive forces are on the march. Unity has made the Workers Alliance of America a powerful organization, capable of effective action in behalf of the unemployed and in support of the forces of progress in the struggle against reaction. The next several months will see important additions to the glorious record of the unemployed movement of the U.S.A.

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ON THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE C. P. S. U.

BY JOSEPH STALIN

[*How the Communist Party grows and develops is of deep concern to every member and follower of the Party. This is especially true when the American working class is rapidly learning to know itself as a class and when the People's Front forces are fast developing. The recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. placed Party building as a central task.*

Lenin and Stalin always attributed exceptional importance to the study of the history of the C.P.S.U. and to the training of young Party leaders on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party. They unceasingly exposed the overt and covert enemies of the Bolshevik Party who tried to distort its past. The study of the history of the C.P.S.U. is of world significance, throwing a guiding light upon the growth and development of our Party.

The following documents by Comrade Stalin, explaining the principles of Party growth, will be of special help to us in mastering Bolshevism.

The first is from a letter which appeared in the magazine Bolshevik *No. 9, May 1, 1937. The second is from Stalin's report to the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, held December, 1926.—The Editors.*]

STALIN'S LETTER ON THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.

I THINK that our textbooks on the history of the C.P.S.U. are unsatisfactory for three main reasons. They are unsatisfactory either because they treat the history of the C.P.S.U. out of relation with the history of the country; or because they limit themselves to a narration, to a simple description of events and of the facts of the struggle among tendencies, without giving the necessary Marxist explanation; or finally because they suffer from an incorrect construction, an incorrect periodization of events.

To free themselves from such defects, the authors must take into account a number of considerations.

First, they must preface each chapter (or section) of the textbook with a brief historical note regarding the economic and political situation of the country. Without this the history of the C.P.S.U. will appear not as history but as a sketchy and incomprehensible story of events gone by.

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Second, not only must there be a statement of the facts which go to show the manifold tendencies and factions in the Party and in the working class in the period of capitalism in Russia, but a Marxist explanation of these events must be given, showing (a) the existence in pre-revolutionary Russia of new and modern classes from the point of view of capitalism, as well as of old pre-capitalist classes; (b) the petty-bourgeois character of the country; (c) the heterogeneous composition of the working class, as conditions which favored the existence of numerous trends and factions in the Party and the working class. Without this the abundance of factions and tendencies remains incomprehensible.

Third, not only must the facts of the fierce struggle of tendencies and factions be stated in the tone of a simple story, but a Marxist explanation must be given to these facts, showing that the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the anti-Bolshevik tendencies and factions was a struggle of principles for Leninism, that in the conditions of capitalism and in general in the conditions of the existence of antagonistic classes, inner-Party contradictions and disagreements are inevitable, that the development and consolidation of the proletarian parties in the conditions indicated can only take place in the process of overcoming these contradictions, that without a struggle based on principles against the anti-Leninist tendencies and groups, without overcoming them, our Party would inevitably have degenerated as the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International, which do not take up such a struggle, degenerate.

In this regard use could be made of the well-known letter sent by Engels to Bernstein in 1882 and quoted in the first part of my report to the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, entitled: "About the Social-Democratic Deviation" in the C.P.S.U., and my commentaries thereto. Unless such an explanation is given, the struggle of factions and tendencies in the history of the C.P.S.U. will appear to be an incomprehensible squabble, while the Bolsheviks will appear to be incorrigible and indefatigable squabblers and scufflers.

Finally, some sort of order must be introduced into the periodization of events in the history of the C.P.S.U.

I think that the scheme outlined below or something like it could form the basis.

SCHEME

1. The struggle to establish a Marxist, Social-Democratic Party in Russia. (From the formation of Plekhanov's Group of Liberation of Labor in 1883 to the appearance of the first issues of the *Iskra* in 1900-1901.)

2. The formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and the appearance, within the Party, of the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions. (1901-1904.)

3. The Mensheviks and Bolsheviks in the period of the Russo-Japanese War and the first Russian revolution. (1904-1907.)

4. The Mensheviks and Bolsheviks

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in the period of the Stolypin* reaction, and the formation and the taking shape of the Bolsheviks as an independent Social-Democratic Labor Party. (1908-1912.)

5. The Bolshevik Party in the years of the rise of the working class movement before the first imperialist war. (1912-1914.)

6. The Bolshevik Party in the period of the imperialist war and the second Russian, February, revolution. (1914 to March, 1917.)

7. The Bolshevik Party in the period of the preparation and carrying through of the October Socialist Revolution. (April, 1917-1918.)

8. The Bolshevik Party in the period of the Civil War. (1918-1920.)

9. The Bolshevik Party in the period of the transition to the peaceful work of reconstructing the national economy. (1921-1925.)

10. The Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the socialist industrialization of the country. (1926-1929.)

11. The Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the collectivization of agriculture. (1930-1934.)

12. The Bolshevik Party in the struggle to complete the construction of socialist society, and to carry through the new Constitution. (1935-1937.)

INHERENT CONTRADICTIONS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT

(From the report of Comrade Stalin at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held December 7, 1926.)

First this question—the question of the struggle inside our Party. The struggle did not commence yesterday, nor has it ended yet. If we take the history of our Party from the time it came into being as a group of Bolsheviks in the year 1903, and if we examine its latest stages right up to the present time, then it can be stated without any exaggeration that the history of our Party is the history of the struggle of contradictions within this Party, a history of the overcoming of these contradictions and of the gradual consolidation of our Party on the basis of overcoming these contradictions. It may be said that the Russians are too quarrelsome, that they love polemics, that they create differences and for that reason the development of the Russian Party is a process of overcoming internal Party antagonisms. This would not be true, comrades. This is not a matter of being quarrelsome; it is a matter of differences over principles, arising in the process of the development of the Party and the process of the struggle of the proletariat.

It means that antagonisms can only be overcome by the struggle for this or that principle, for this or that fighting aim, for this or that method of struggle which leads to the goal. One can and must enter into every kind of compromise with those of a like mind within the Party on questions of current politics, on questions of a purely practical nature. But when these questions are bound up with differences of opinion involving principles, then no

* Stolypin, head of the cabinet at that time, tried to head off a revolutionary uprising against the autocracy by carrying through reforms which gave partial satisfaction to the kulak (rich) farmer at the expense of the poor farmer.—*The Editors.*

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compromise, no "middle" line can save matters. There is not and cannot be a "middle" line in questions involving principles. Either the one or the other principle must be made the basis of the work of the Party. A "middle" line on questions involving principle is a "line" which leads to confusion of mind, a line which plasters over differences, a line of ideological degeneration of the Party, a line of ideological death of the Party.

How do the Social-Democratic parties in the West live and develop? Are there any internal contradictions and differences over principles in those parties? Of course there are. Do they expose these contradictions and try to overcome them honestly and frankly before the eyes of the masses of the party? No, of course they do not. It is the practice of the Social-Democrats to conceal these antagonisms, it is the practice of the Social-Democrats to convert their conferences and congresses into masquerades, into official parades intended to show that all is well within the party; every effort is made to conceal and gloss over the differences within the party. But nothing but confusion and the intellectual impoverishment of the party can result from such practices. This is one of the causes of the decline of Western European Social-Democracy, which at one time was revolutionary, but is now reformist.

We, however, cannot live and develop in this way. The policy of finding a "middle course" on questions of principle is not our policy. The policy of finding a "middle course" on questions of principle is the policy of declining and degenerating parties. Such a policy cannot but result in the Party becoming a mere bureaucratic apparatus beating the air, and detached from the masses. This path is not our path.

The whole history of our Party confirms the postulate that the history of our Party is the history of overcoming internal Party differences and the steady consolidation of the ranks of our Party on the basis of overcoming these contradictions. . . .

It follows that the fight to overcome internal Party differences is the law of development of our Party.

It may be said that this is the law for the C.P.S.U. and not for other proletarian parties. This would not be true. This law is the law of development of all parties of any considerable size, irrespective of whether it is the proletarian party of the U.S.S.R. or parties of the West. While in small parties in small countries it may be possible to gloss over differences, to cover them up by the authority of one or several persons, it is impossible to do so in a large party with diversified districts. In such parties development by overcoming contradictions is an inevitable element of growth and consolidation of the party. This is how development proceeded in the past, this is how it proceeds at the present day.

I would like here to call in the authority of Engels who, in conjunction with Marx, guided the proletarian parties in the West through several decades. I refer to the eighties of the last century, when the anti-Socialist laws were in operation in Germany, when Marx and Engels were in exile in London, and when the Social-Democratic organ *The Social-Democrat* was published illegally abroad, and really

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guided the work of German Social-Democracy. Bernstein at that time was still a revolutionary Marxist (he had not yet gone over to reformism). Engels kept up a lively correspondence with Bernstein on current questions of Social-Democratic policy. This is what he wrote to Bernstein in 1882:

"Apparently, all labor parties in big countries can develop only in the process of internal struggle, in complete accordance with the laws of dialectical development. The German Party became what it is in the struggle between the Eisenachers and the Lassalleians, in which the very friction played the principal role. Unity became possible only when the riffraff, deliberately fostered by Lassalle as instruments in the struggle, became worn out, and this brought about too great haste on our part.

"In France, those who, while having sacrificed their Bakuninist theories, continue to employ Bakuninist methods of fighting, and at the same time desire to sacrifice the class character of the movement to their social aims must also become worn out before unity will again become possible. To advocate unity under such conditions would be sheer stupidity. Moralizing sermons will not prevent infantile sicknesses which under modern conditions must be experienced." (*Marx-Engels Archives,* Book 1, pp. 324-325.)

For, says Engels in another passage:

"Contradictions cannot be concealed for long. They are settled only by fighting them out." (*Ibid.*)

This is how the existence of contradictions within our Party and the development of our Party through overcoming these contradictions by fighting them out are to be explained.

THE SOURCES OF THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY

Where do these contradictions originate from, what are their sources?

I think that the contradictions within proletarian parties originate from two circumstances. What are these?

These are, first, the pressure of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois ideology upon the proletariat and its party in the course of the class struggle, the pressure to which the more irresolute sections of the proletariat, and that means the wavering sections in the Party, not infrequently succumb. We must not think that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, or that it stands apart from society. The proletariat is part of society and connected with it through its diversified strata by numerous threads. The Party is part of the proletariat, and for that reason the Party cannot escape the contacts and influence of the diversified strata of bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology upon the proletariat and upon its Party result in bourgeois ideas, morals, habits and moods not infrequently penetrating into the proletariat and its Party through the medium of certain strata of the proletariat connected in one way or another with bourgeois society.

Second, it is the diversified character of the working class, the fact that it is made up of various strata. I think that the proletariat as a class may be divided up into three strata:

The first stratum—the principal mass of the proletariat, its main core, its constant part; this is the mass of the "thoroughbred" proletarians, who have long ago cut off all contacts with the capitalist class. This stratum of the proletariat is the most reliable support of Marxism.

The second stratum is composed of those proletarians who have recently emerged from non-proletarian classes;

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from the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. This stratum, having just emerged from non-proletarian classes, has brought into the proletarian class its old habits and customs, its wavering and vacillation. This stratum represents the most favorable soil for all sorts of anarchist, semi-anarchist and "ultra-Left" groupings.

Finally there is a third stratum. This is the aristocracy of labor, the upper stratum of the working class, the most secure in its conditions compared with the other sections of the proletariat; it strives to compromise with the bourgeoisie; its predominating mood is to adapt itself to the mighty of the earth and to be "respectable." This stratum represents the most favorable soil for avowed reformists and opportunists.

In spite of their apparent difference on the surface, the last two strata of the working class represent a more or less common milieu which fosters opportunism: frank and avowed opportunism when the mood of the aristocracy of labor prevails, and the concealed opportunism of "Left" phrases when the mood of that stratum of the working class prevails which has not completely cut itself off from petty-bourgeois contacts. There is nothing surprising in the fact that avowed opportunism very frequently coincides with "ultra-Left" moods. Lenin has said more than once that "the ultra-Left" opposition is the reverse side of the Right wing, Menshevik, avowedly opportunist opposition, and this is absolutely correct. If the "ultra-Left" stands for revolution because it expects the immediate victory of the revolution, then naturally it must fall into despair, it must become disappointed in revolution if a hitch takes place and the revolution is not immediately victorious.

Naturally, at every turn in the development of the class struggle, on every occasion that the struggle becomes more acute and difficult, the difference of views, the difference in the habits and moods of the various strata of the proletariat must tell in the form of differences in the Party, and the pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology upon the Party must inevitably cause these differences to become more acute and to find an outlet in the form of a struggle within the proletarian party.

These are the sources of the inherent contradictions and differences within the Party.

Is it possible to avoid these contradictions and disagreements? No, it is not. To imagine that it is possible to avoid these contradictions means to deceive oneself. Engels was right when he said that it is impossible to gloss over the contradictions within the Party for any length of time, that these contradictions are solved by struggle.

This does not mean that the Party be converted into a debating society. On the contrary, the Party of the proletariat is, and must remain, a fighting organization of the proletariat. I merely wish to say that we must not shut our eyes to differences within the Party if these differences are over questions of principle. I want to say that only by fighting for principle can the proletarian Party withstand the pressure and influence of the bourgeoisie. Only by overcoming internal Party contradictions can we guarantee the soundness and strength of the Party.

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